NARRATIVES AS PARTICULAR FORMS OF CULTURALLY SITUATED TEXTS ACROSS SPEAKERS OF JAPANESE AND AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of The Australian National University

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June 2003

Except where otherwise acknowledged, this thesis
is the original work of the author.

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Acknowledgments

There are a number of people without whom this thesis might not have been written, and to whom I am greatly indebted.

This thesis owes its existence to the help of Suwako Watanabe at Portland State University who kindly sent a copy of her doctoral dissertation to me while I was still in Tokyo. She is an expert in Japanese linguistics with an unparalleled instinct.

I want to thank Tony Liddicoat, Harold Koch, Elizabeth Minchin, Karl Rensch, Johanna Rendle-Short and Maurice Nevile at The Australian National University who provided me with tireless support and encouragement. Tony, my supervisor, first acquainted me with William Labov's narrative analysis and trained me in discourse analysis. Time after time, his easy grasp of spoken language at its most fundamental level helped me in the struggle for my own understanding. He demonstrated his continued devotion as an external supervisor, after taking up a position in Griffith University, at an advanced stage of this thesis. Harold, who took over Tony's position, assisted me in the course of this work. Harold shared his wealth of knowledge and experience so freely. His consistent advice and confidence were essential for completion of this thesis, and are highly appreciated. I warmly thank Elizabeth, Head of School of Language Studies, for her kind guidance throughout this research. I always learned so much from her. Karl, visiting fellow, kindly devoted his time caring for my situation. With a background in journalism, he taught me how to write better. I believe that he would have been a great advisor for anyone, including the author. Johanna, lecturer in linguistics and expert in conversation analysis, deserves special credit for having the vision to talk to me about the distinction between discourse analysis and conversation analysis. A lot of research and revision hours were expended for this thesis. Johanna came to rescue me, reading the entire thesis thoroughly and providing an infinite number of valuable comments and suggestions on the thesis. This thesis was enriched significantly through helpful discussions with her. In particular, she helped me rewrite all chapters to make them understandable for an English reader. It is with Johanna that I learned everything that a PhD student ought to know. It is hardly possible to convey the depth of gratitude owed to her who agreed to assist me at the tail end. For the final reading of my thesis, praise and thanks go to Maurice. He is a visiting fellow here in the School of Language Studies with extensive linguistics background — his first degree and MA was in linguistics, and then he did his PhD in conversation analysis. He was well qualified to critically look at what I had written — to check my analysis and whether I had adequately supported my statements.

It is difficult to overstate my gratitude to Carolyn Thomas, Administrator of School of Language Studies, for allowing me continued use of computing facilities over the last four and half years. I will be forever indebted to her.

Gail Craswell and Marivic Wyndham at the Academic Skills and Learning Centre, I wish to thank also for their masterful editing skills and for helping me to become a critical thinker. I thank Gail especially for her willingness to engage in countless insightful conversations during the development of the ideas in this thesis, and for keeping an eye on my well-being.

Words cannot convey my debt to fellow postgraduate student/friend, Makiko Morita. Makiko played such an important role along the journey, as we mutually engaged in making sense of the various challenges we faced and in providing encouragement to each other at those times when it seemed impossible to continue.

In appreciation of the time, effort and patience extended to me in the pursuit of this thesis, I thank Lynn Whitlark at Texas Tech University. Lynn has been working on basic narrative structure for nearly fifteen years. She was always there to answer my questions, and I will always keep fond memories of the discussions we had.

Obviously, the project could not have been implemented without the cooperation of dozens of informants who participated in the study. I was made privy to the personal stories of many trustworthy and generous individuals in Japan and Australia. I remain grateful to everyone on the project, particularly those who were kind enough to catch up with me and help with transcribing after the recording. Among these was Penelope Fischer, with whom I developed a close friendship over the years. Having heard a story about her mother, it was a dynamic experience to be able to meet her in person.

My present status in life, this PhD included, is a result of the extraordinary will, efforts and sacrifices of my parents. It is their faith and confidence in me that brought this work to its fruition. I want to thank them for creating an environment in which following this path seemed so natural.

Abstract

In any human culture the telling of stories representing past events is likely to have a central place. The aim of this dissertation is to describe how Japanese and Australians tell stories from a structural and interactional perspective, and to demonstrate how meanings accumulate throughout narratives. This study provides an opportunity for the important examination of how narratives are constructed as particular forms of culturally situated texts.

The participants in this study are native speakers of the two languages, and the stories were collected in these two languages. The material consists of a corpus of 18 stories taken from six hours of tape recordings of conversations between adults, aged 21-54, of both sexes, in private conversations. The majority of the recordings was made in 1999-2000. The method is basically qualitative and the analyses are carried out through detailed scrutiny of pieces of recordings and transcriptions.

Structural differences in storytelling are analysed from two main perspectives: (i) in terms of the way the narrative is presented by the storyteller and (ii) in terms of the listener's response to the narrative. Therefore, the study combines sociolinguistic approaches to discourse and the theoretical and methodological ideas of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (CA). Specifically, the aspects of storytelling studied include how the stories are designed by the teller in order to propose and make the listener accept a certain version of what happened, the way stories are introduced and accounted for in the ongoing conversation, and how the listener through his/her contributions during the telling can accept, modify, reject and negotiate the meaning proposed by the teller. These three elements of narration have

been shown to be particular sites for cultural comparison in other studies and deserve further investigation to the same extent.

The results show that although both Japanese and Australian stories basically conform to the structural framework outlined by Labov, the elements of orientation and evaluation seem most defining of the differences among storytellers across the two languages. Also, Japanese and Australian participants differ in their ways of entering into a story, both in recipient-initiated and speaker-initiated stories. Furthermore, Japanese and Australian recipients co-construct a story with the narrator in culture-specific ways, especially with regard to minimal responses, assessments and questions.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Narratives or stories occur during everyday conversation when speakers share their personal experiences with friends and family (Ochs et al., 1992). These extended sequences in conversation are sequentially organised and fit within the particular context of interaction (Goodwin, 1984, 1996, 2002; Jefferson, 1978; Sacks, 1972, 1974, 1986). Narratives are the fundamental scheme for linking individual human actions and events into interrelated aspects of an understandable composite. At its core, storytelling is the art of using language, vocalisation, and/or physical movement and gesture to reveal the elements and images of a story to a specific, live audience.

"Narrative" is often defined as a wide, general term, while "story" is restricted to the genre that recounts characters, events, complications and consequences (Conley and O'Barr, 1990: 197). However, for purposes of the present analysis I shall use the word "narrative" interchangeably with "story" in the domain of discourse because narrative is "the fundamental scheme for linking individual human actions and events into interrelated aspects of an understandable composite" (Polkinghorne, 1988: 13). Thus a "narrative" can be understood as both the story and the interpretation of the events that make up the story.

Given the full spectrum of interactions one can imagine occurring, I contend that narratives vary with respect to (i) the social and cultural norms, (ii) the ground rules and assumptions of language use and (iii) actual instances of verbal and non-

verbal communication. In other words, narratives are culture-bound. The way an individual tells a story emanates from his/her culture.

Culture is closely connected to language. It refers to those idealised cognitive models (G. Lakoff, 1987) that form one's worldview and are shared among members of a particular group, typically, although not necessarily, a group sharing a common language. These models, derived from shared experience (Johnson, 1987) are strongly constitutive of one's understanding of oneself and one's relations with others; and are schematic mental representations of typical situations, persons, actions and objects. They are formed through the processing of discourse (e.g. narrative) and are often described in cognitive linguistics as "frames" or "scripts" (van Dijk, 1980; van Dijk and Kintsch, 1978).

One of the core features of any cultural study is the patterns of communication used within that culture (Crozet and Liddicoat, 1999). These patterns manifest themselves in features such as turntaking, pausing, uttering minimal responses, hesitating, overlapping and change of topic. Conversational styles differ cross-culturally. What is considered linguistically appropriate behaviour varies among people of different cultural backgrounds. In communicating with one another, participants will naturally follow the conversational styles within their respective cultures. Discourse rules may govern such aspects of narrative as:

- opening or closing sequences;
- taking turns during narration;
- using silence as a communicative device;
- knowing appropriate topics of narrative;
- interjecting humour at appropriate times;
- using laughter as a communicative device;
- sequencing of elements during narrative;
- listener behaviours such as response tokens; and
- knowing the appropriate amount of speech to be used by speakers.

Because narratives are constructed according to a set of rules, narratives can be recognised as internally coherent discourse units whose elements and sequencing have a canonical form.

Scholars and laypeople alike are intrigued by apparent differences in the conversational styles of different cultures (Tannen, 1980: 51). Variations in ways of speaking are seen as reflections of cultural differences within the anthropological narrative framework (Brewer, 1985; Grimes, 1978; Longacre and Levinsohn, 1978). The workings of oral narratives in different cultures have been researched from ethnographic, discourse analytical and interactional sociolinguistic perspectives (Aukrust and Snow, 1998; Blum-Kulka, 1997; Gleason and Melzi, 1997; Holmes, 1998; Tannen, 1980). There is some evidence that the processes of narrative and narration are indeed a key question for language and culture. This leads onto the assumption that stories from different cultures are unique but contain some similar elements.

On a theoretical level, this thesis aims to bring together Conversation Analytic and a variationist point of view to discuss the role of culture in the discursive shaping of oral narratives. It attempts to combine micro-level with macro-level analytic concerns, and its scope will cover a range of aspects of oral narratives (structural properties, how a story is introduced and the activities of the listener) in two different cultures. In particular, this study compares the narratives told in Japanese by adult native speakers of Japanese, with those told in English by adult native speakers of Australian English.

1.2 Defining a narrative

Although there is considerable disagreement about the precise definition of a narrative, central to the assumptions of all approaches is that the narrative is perceived as having a unique identifiable structure. One early and enduring version of this structure is found in Aristotle's *Poetics* which argues that a narrative has a beginning, middle and end. Ever since, scholars have regarded sequencing as a necessary, if not sufficient, quality of narrative. The order of a story's events moves in a linear way through time, and a disruption of that order essentially modifies the original semantic meaning of the story (Riessman, 1993). Although there are a number of definitions of narrative, they can be classified and described fairly easily. Three approaches to defining narratives will be discussed to highlight some important issues in understanding how narratives are structured and recognised.

1.2.1 Change-of-state definitions

The first definition describes narratives as a transformation of material entities which can be visually and tangibly tracked through time.

Prince (1973) identifies the essential features of a story as having a state-event-state change sequence without the necessity of goal-based behaviour or an animate protagonist. For Prince, a change of state in the physical environment is all that is necessary. However, a change of state in the emotions of a protagonist can also form the basis of a minimal story.

Toolan (1988: 7) recognises that a narrative is a perceived sequence of non-randomly connected events. By its very nature, an event is really a complex term, presupposing that there is some recognised state or set of conditions, and that something happens, causing a change to that state. Toolan's emphasis on "non-random connectedness" means that a pure collage of described events, even given in

sequence, does not count as a narrative. By "non-random connection" he means a connectedness that is taken to be motivated and significant. His definition suggests that consequence is not so much "given" as "perceived": narrative depends on the addressee seeing it as narrative.

Coates (1996: 72) provides a definition which fits the preconceptions of most people in everyday contexts as to what constitutes a story:

> By *story*, I mean both autobiographical accounts of things that have happened to us, and anecdotes about other people and events. To count as a story, these accounts must be structured in a particular way, which in our culture basically entails having a beginning, a middle and an end.

Coates (1996: 94) also argues that a "story" is a biographical account of everything that has happened. What counts is the face-to-face, blow-by-blow account. In other words, friends tell each other the latest episode of the Story of My Life.

1.2.2 Goal-directed definitions

The second definition describes narratives as episodes being farther from or closer to a goal.

Mandler and Johnson (1977) and Stein and Glenn (1979) argue that the prototypical description of a story represents an idealised schema, existing in the head of the comprehender. The surface structure of a particular story text need not, and empirically often does not, contain all of the parts of a prototypical story. It is assumed that the comprehender will use available knowledge about the prototypical structure of a story to supply missing information, in order to construct a coherent representation of the event sequence. For the comprehender to be able to construct a

meaningful representation of a story, however, certain features must always be present in the text structure. A story is an account of goal-directed behaviour of a set of characters — their interactions with each other and with the world. By virtue of the goal-directed behaviour of the characters, various events happen. Thus Stein and Glenn (1979) claim that a story text must contain direct or indirect reference to:

1. a specific protagonist capable of intentional behaviour;
2. the motivation and/or goals of a protagonist;
3. overt actions carried out in the service of a goal; and
4. information concerning the attainment or non-attainment of the goal.

In a related line of thought, Stein and Policastro (1984) point out that the goal-directed definitions have an affective component. However, the affective component in the grammatical definition concerns the emotional response of the protagonist of the story.

1.2.3 Complex definitions

The third definition describes narratives as a reconstruction of events in relation to an audience.

Labov (1972: 359) restricts the definition of a narrative to reports about past events, ordered in a temporal sequence. The proposal is that a narrative of personal experience is a report of a sequence of events that have entered into the biography of the speaker by a sequence of clauses that correspond to the order of the original events. This being the case, events that have entered into the speaker's biography are emotionally and socially evaluated and so transformed from raw experience. A key element in Labov's description of narrative structure is that the evaluation is what gives the text significance. Through the evaluative component, narrators reveal their personal understanding of the meaning and significance of the events recounted in the

narrative. Labov distinguishes between those evaluations that appear inside from those that appear outside the fixed position clauses of narratives. The former he refers to as embedded and the latter external.

Polanyi (1985a) defines the term "narrative" as a kind of discourse in which a precise time line is established through the telling, made up of discrete moments at which events take place. This definition is broader than Labov's since it permits a reordering of past events in the telling. However, her term "narrative" is quite general and it includes plans for the future, commentary, wished-for unrealised occurrences, generic descriptions, reports and stories.

Black and Wilensky (1979) maintain that there are instances of texts that have all the necessary features of stories, as proposed in the goal-based definitions, but that they would not be classified as a story. Conversely, they suggest that there are also instances of texts that do not contain all of the features of a story, but would be classified as stories. They refer to procedural exposition in order to illustrate their view concerning texts that contain all of the features of a story but would not be included in the story category.

In their analysis of traditional English folktales, de Beaugrande and Colby (1979) point out that stories must include some type of unexpected event so that a complication arises when the protagonist cannot pursue the normal course of action. As such, they are concerned with a novel method of solving the problem at hand or an obstacle to be placed in the path of the protagonist.

Morgan and Sellner (1981) and Brewer and Lichtenstein (1981) argue that it would be incomplete to assume only the set of features outlined in the goal-based approach to stories. They contend that an affective response on the part of the

comprehender (such as curiosity, surprise, suspense) must be experienced in order for the text to be considered a story.

M.H. Goodwin (1990a, 1990b), in her discussion of the function of narratives that occur in the talk of black American children, points out that stories are extraordinarily complex speech events, and that a narrative is not just a set of clauses reporting past events produced in a particular order, but contains a much wider range of different types of conversational actions. These include the evaluation of events, the construction of future stories, and of hypothetical events, particularly in girls' groups in the descriptions of confrontations that have not yet taken place. M.H. Goodwin notes that narratives have to be examined not as free-standing linguistic or discursive entities, but as elements within the wider context of the speech event in which they occur. It is this wider social context that she claims will be consequential for the construction of a story by the speaker and its interpretation by the hearer (M.H. Goodwin, 1990a: 238).

The next section will discuss possible approaches taken in this thesis.

1.3 Stories in everyday conversation

Everyday stories provide conversationalists with a resource for assessing and confirming affiliations with others (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 229). In general, narratives are seen in terms of past events that contain a setting, a complicating action and a resolution (Ochs, 1997). Ochs distinguishes prototypical narratives, those with a clear delimitation of a setting, a complicating action and a resolution from other kinds of narratives that do not contain all these elements. The latter can take the form of plans, agendas, news, scientific presentations and even prayers.

Sociolinguistic definitions of narratives (Labov and Waletzky, 1967: 20) consider narratives as a sequence of two or more clauses, which are temporally ordered. Labov (1972, 1982) presents a sociolinguistic approach to narratives which focuses upon how the language of narratives (e.g. tense, referring terms, reported speech) is used to create a storyworld, and how that storyworld both constructs and reflects different contexts. Anthropological and CA perspectives (C. Goodwin, 1984; M.H. Goodwin, 1990a, 1990b; Linde, 1993; Ochs, 1997; Ochs and Capps, 2001; Ochs et al., 1992; Riessman, 1993; Schiffrin, 1996, 1997) characterise narratives as part of people's everyday life, as accounts of personal experiences, which can be embedded in ordinary conversation. Narrators are perpetually receiving feedback from listeners; one can almost say that narrators and listeners jointly produce stories, or that listeners tell stories to themselves through narrators. Two ways that conversation is important to storytelling are: (i) a narrator has an ongoing conversation with each listener and (ii) tellers often enact conversations between story characters (C. Goodwin, 1984, 1986a; M.H. Goodwin, 1982; Jefferson, 1978). Rather than focusing on the structure of stories, conversation analysts explore the ways in which stories are embedded within conversation and interaction. As Schegloff (1997) points out, people tell stories to do something — to complain, to boast, to inform, to alert, to tease, to explain, to excuse, or to justify. In other words, as people tell stories they construct their experience conforming to their social order (Harré, 2001: 695). Conversation analysts are therefore concerned with when and how these typically long stretches of talk get signalled and told in everyday conversation (Geis, 1995; ten Have, 1999).

In the next section I will indicate the approach taken in this thesis.

1.4 Theoretical framework

Different analytic approaches focus on the linguistic construction of the narrative. Since there currently exists no single model that includes criteria encompassing the full range of oral narrative forms, I approach the issues taken up in this thesis by employing different tools. Given the wide variety of approaches to discourse, with sociological, philosophical, linguistic and critical semiotic perspectives all making important contributions towards understanding the nature of spoken discourse (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 23), perhaps the best method would be to take an integrated, eclectic approach to analysing narratives, deriving ideas from relevant sources. The study of narrative as organised discourse can benefit from a synthesis of theoretical models developed in different disciplines and research traditions. In particular, two traditions of discourse analysis will be integrated: (i) the ethnomethodological CA approach inspired by Sacks (1992), marked by "A" in the table below, and (ii) the sociolinguistic approach, which includes ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1972, 1974), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b) and variation theory (Labov, 1972), marked by "B" in the table below. The following table abstracts the starting points, research questions and minimal units for the four approaches to discourse analysis (Schiffrin, 1994).

Table 1: Approaches to narrative analysis

	Structural	*Starting point*	*Research question*	*Minimal unit*
A	Ethnomethodology and CA	Sequencing/ Adjacency	Why is that there?	Adjacency pair
B	Variation theory	Structural variable	What is that form?	Multiple possibilities
	Functional	----------	----------	----------
B	Ethnography of speaking	Speech events/ Speech acts	How does discourse reflect culture?	Speech event
B	Interactional sociolinguistics	Interactional goals	What are they doing?	Interchange

These four approaches, which come under the two traditions of discourse analysis, examine the relationship between structure and function, text and context, and discourse and communication. Although each approach emphasises different aspects of language competence, they all view language as social interaction.

1.4.1 Sociological perspectives on discourse:

Conversation analysts can be seen as social theorists who assume that everyday social structure is a skilled accomplishment by competent actors. Conversation is one such type of action and one which is particularly salient in social terms. Moreover, conversation can be recorded and described in detail, with transcriptions providing a yardstick for the replicability of social-scientific analysis (Boden, 1994).

1.4.1.1 Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (CA)

Ethnomethodology emerged through the pioneering studies of Garfinkel (1967) and rapidly led to the development of CA through the innovative research of Sacks and his colleagues, Schegloff and Jefferson (Sacks et al., 1974). The point of CA is to explicate the idea that an important area of interactional meaning is revealed in the sequence, that is, human interactants continually display to each other, in the course of interaction, their own understanding of what they are doing. CA provides a powerful and general understanding of interaction that has the potential to illuminate a wide range of research questions (Heritage, 1984b; Nofsinger, 1991). It involves being mindful of basic features such as turn organisation, pairing of actions, normative ranking of alternative turns as well as considering the findings of many

studies showing the delicate way in which actions are embedded in sequences of discourse.

The main research procedure in CA progresses through three stages. The first is to locate a potentially interesting phenomenon in naturally-occurring data. The analysis grows out of the researchers' noticing of a potentially interesting, possibly orderly phenomenon. The second step, having collected a number of instances, is to describe one particular occurrence formally, concentrating on its sequential context: the types and nature of the turns which precede and follow it. If patterns can be located in the sequential contexts in which the potential phenomenon occurs in the data, then there begins to be the basis for a robust description. The third step is to return to more data to see if other instances of the phenomenon can be described in terms of this account. In the process, the description will need to be refined and, gradually, a formal account of a sequential pattern can be developed (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 94-95).

Within CA, oral narratives are seen not so much as structural realisations, but as interactive accomplishments which involve audience uptake and the negotiation of an extended, monologic turn in conversational talk. Research in the traditions of CA can throw light on the exchange structure of narrative discourse, and its status as an interactional achievement of narrators and audience. Specifically, the achievement of narrative is made possible by verbal cues anchored in turntaking protocols, i.e. protocols required for the initiation and maintenance of the more or less extended turns at talk required to tell a story (Sacks, 1974).

1.4.2 Sociolinguistic approaches to discourse

Sociolinguists believe that the study of language must go beyond the sentences that are the principal focus of descriptive and theoretical linguistics. The focus of attention shifts from the sentence to the act of communication, the speech event.

1.4.2.1 Ethnography of speaking

Building on a model of communication first proposed by Jakobson (1958), Hymes (1972, 1974) proposed that this model should provide the basis for an ethnography of speaking (also called ethnography of communication). The focus of the ethnography of speaking is upon aspects of interrelationship that are missing from both grammars and ethnographies taken separately or analytically combined. Its subject matter is speaking, the situated occurrence of language as an element and instrument of social life. This approach is an invaluable tool in considering the structure of one of the commonest of speech events, the conversation, when two or more people speak to each other.

Within ethnography of speaking, oral narratives are seen as culture-specific and situationally contingent constructs; that is, they are eminently cultural and rooted in the social life of a group or community. Narratives are a way to study how people see their lives. Hymes (1981) developed an approach to the analysis of oral narrative. The approach is aimed at uncovering patterning and structure in narratives, and starts from the assumption that such forms of patterning and structure are poetic in nature, i.e. they are built on a vast set of linguistic and communicative features. Oral, recorded or otherwise sampled narratives are rewritten in ways that reflect the lines and the relations between the lines, grouped in verses and stanzas or episodes. These transcripts are senses to reflect and encode forms of narrative coherence that can only

be detected on the basis of ethnopoetic patterning and need not be reflected in more established, linguistic or text-linguistic forms of coherence or cohesion.

1.4.2.2 Interactional sociolinguistics

Research in interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b, 1992a, 1992b; Scollon and Scollon, 1981; Tannen, 1984) reveals how individuals rely on culturally informed patterns of cues, strategies, frames and schemata to interpret and signal their understanding of and involvement in ongoing social interaction. By analysing discourse, interactional sociolinguistics aims to reveal the social meaning of conduct in a particular context and of the interaction between self and others associated with the conduct. It focuses on situated behaviour as the site where societal focus and interactive forces merge. It also stresses the extent to which such interaction depends on culturally informed but situated inferential processes which play a role in talkers' interpretive constructions of the kind of activity or frame they are engaged in.

Gumperz defines his enterprise as an approach that sets out to deal with the contingent, situational and emergent nature of cultural phenomena in speech (Gumperz, 1982a; Gumperz and Roberts, 1991). First and foremost is the fact that "culture" in the sense of a transcendent identity composed of values and norms and closely related to forms of behaviour is not necessarily there. What can be observed and explained in cross-cultural communication are different conventions of communication, different speech styles, narrative patterns, namely, the deployment of different communicative repertoires. In fact, as far as identity is concerned, people can identify themselves or others on the basis of such speech styles. In Gumperz's

work, such repertoires can be traced back to traditions (e.g. ethnicity, class, and so on).

1.4.2.3 Variation theory

Variation theory, as pioneered by Labov (1972), is concerned with the fact that languages possess a whole range of resources for producing a given linguistic expression. The spectrum of variation exists at every level of the linguistic system, from the way one pronounces certain words to the syntactic forms one chooses. Geographical variation is apparent, even in monolingual countries, from the various dialects which characterise particular regions. Social variation is evident when the particular forms of language used are influenced by the social class of the speaker. Linguistic variation between groups of people is compounded by the variation which exists within the speech of each individual.

The systematic study of language variation is exclusively quantitative. The analysis of oral narrative format examines syntax, lexicon and phonology to find the structure of the linear unfolding of the story. The theory finds story parts, separates narrative clauses from others by verb form, and then examines the devices of evaluation. Labov's work sets out to show, and has shown, that conversational narratives have clear and reliably regular structures. His efforts have a long history of asserting and treating sociological variables such as class, gender, race, etc. as independent situational variables.

Narratives are understood as any stretch of discourse centred around a past event which contains an evaluative point (Labov, 1972). Narrative or storytelling constitutes sense-making social activity. That is, people tell stories to reconstruct what a past experience means to them at the present moment (Ochs and Capps, 2001).

When narrators bring past events to the present moment they portray themselves and the events they describe in particular ways, attributing different kinds of agency (the degree of interpretation narrators attribute to themselves and events in the storyworlds they reconstruct at the present moment) to the characters reported.

1.4.3 Critical evaluation of the different approaches

The objective of this thesis is to conduct original research involving the in-depth analysis of a corpus of Japanese and Australian narratives in order to highlight similarities and differences. The thesis explores this issue using a conversation analytic approach, which "studies the organisation of language as actually used in social interaction" (Moerman, 1988: 2). For researchers in conversation analysis, this study exemplifies that an analysis of native-speaker interaction may reap unique insights into the structure of a narrative being examined.

An advantage of the CA approach is that it facilitates an analysis of fragments of the data and gives primacy to interpretations which are demonstrably oriented to participant actions (ten Have, 1999). Reflecting on the role that culture plays in the production of stories, CA may prove useful in illuminating culturally standardised features of interaction (Bilmes, 1996; Firth, 1996; Moerman, 1977, 1988, 1996; Wagner, 1996). Because CA analyses are based on what is observable in the data (R. Lakoff, 2001: 210), the study can be used to explicate the surface level of Japanese and Australian features of interaction without ascribing psychological states to the participants. Although discussion of what motivates people to tell stories would make an interesting topic of research, it is certainly beyond the scope of the thesis and will be reserved for future investigation.

At the intersection of linguistics and anthropology, ethnography of communication has as its goal an understanding of communicative behaviour within culture. Hymes (1981) stresses social knowledge of language functions and norms so that his approach emphasises shared norms over interaction. This study departs from most ethnographies in that its primary goal is the explanation and interpretation of conversational stories in different cultures, not detailed accounts of the distinctive "ways of speaking" (e.g. notions of what constitutes "speaking well", knowing taboos) evident in different communities.

In comparison with other approaches to discourse analysis (e.g. CA), interactional sociolinguistics takes a holistic view to discourse, integrating the disciplines of anthropology and sociology into the interpretation of the interactive meaning conveyed in the linguistic behaviour. A central concern of interactional sociolinguistics is the interactive nature on the participant level (Tannen, 1992: 11). Although there is an initial teller who introduces a story during conversation, the other participants contribute critically to the direction the story takes (Duranti, 1986; C. Goodwin, 1986a). Consequently, storytelling is not normatively monologic but rather an interactionally achieved discourse and sense-making activity performed by the audience and the narrator.

Labov's (1972) influential studies of oral narrative have contributed to a general knowledge of narrative structure. However, later critics (Bal, 1985; Berger, 1997; Toolan, 1988) point out that Labov's structural approach to narrative as linguistics is very rigid, forcing stories to fit a format that would make them linguistically analysable. Quasthoff (1997) points out that narratives cannot be considered as a finished product, with a number of distinct components. In most cases, to define exactly where a narrative unit starts and ends is a very subjective task

which depends entirely on the analyst point of view, since there is no absolute cue to the segmentation of a narrative into semantically and pragmatically different units. In this connection, Ochs and Capps (2001) include an interactional reappraisal of Labov. The authors discuss a way of understanding the seemingly contradictory nature of everyday narrative. Conversational narratives might start out as an attempt to shape events into a straightforward chronological framework, but with questions, challenges and contradictions from the audience, these narratives are, in Ochs and Capps' estimation, open-ended and contingent collaborations.

It is also worth looking at a broader exchange between scholars in critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Schegloff (on CA) that appeared in *Discourse and Society* (Billig, 1999; Schegloff, 1997, 1998, 1999; Wetherell, 1998). Both CA and CDA accept the fundamentally contextual view of text and talk as being structured under the current constraints of the social situation. Yet, this contextualisation is generally attended to quite differently in CA than in CDA. In CA, no contextual categories (such as social status, age or gender) are postulated *a priori* in order to understand or explain ongoing talk unless they are made relevant by the participants themselves. In CDA, on the other hand, the application of contextualisation criteria is less strict. CDA examines text and context separately; and once a feature of context has been observed, postulated or otherwise identified, CDA may be used to explore whether and how such a feature affects, or is affected by, structures of text and talk.

In broad terms, I have chosen "ethnomethodology and CA" as a method of analysis. This is an excellent way of approaching the subject because rather than making *a priori* assumptions about the role that culture plays in the production of the corpus, it has the potential to support empirically or challenge current views about the effects of culture on language use. However, the overall thesis brings in both

structural and interactive features of the narration. Therefore, the structural analysis embodies the Labovian analysis, while the analysis of the more interactive features of the narration (story initiation and listener responses) relies on methodological practices of ethnomethodology and CA. In particular, there has been relatively little work correlating variation in co-construction of narratives with cultural factors. To shed light on the phenomenon of local occasioning of stories in conversation from a CA perspective, the researcher must note that the use of turn organisation may vary cross-culturally. Moerman (1988, 1996) intends to explicate the cultural context in which conversations occur, as opposed to conversation per se. The author's corpus and methodological approach have the potential to offer some new insights into Australian and Japanese conversational storytelling, as well as insights into differences between Australian and Japanese styles of communication, as the native-speaker interactants are likely to rely on their shared cultural common ground in the task of telling stories (Iwasaki and Horie, 1998) and demonstrate the dynamics of effective communication in each respective culture.

1.5 Issues in cross-cultural communication

Conversation analysis of narratives can shed light on cross-cultural linguistic patterns that may lead to communication difficulties. Culture influences every aspect of social behaviour including communication style. Cross-cultural differences in communication styles have been widely investigated in Australia in recent years (Astbury, 1994; Barraja-Rohan, 1994; Béal, 1990, 1992, 1994; Cordella, 1990; Cordella et al., 1995; Wierzbicka, 1991, 1992). Successful communication between language groups depends crucially on common understanding between parties, however diverse. This consists of the ability to use language in accordance with a

given situational context and to recognise the expectations of native-speaker conversation partners. Awareness of cultural differences can help speakers to understand the people who are different from them. That is, an appreciation of patterns of cultural differences in storytelling can assist them in enhancing their capacity to respond effectively in multicultural settings. A few cross-cultural studies have been done on communication between Japanese and Australians. Marriott (1993a, 1993b, 1997) investigated Australian-Japanese business interaction and found, for example, that Japanese participants used English titles and surnames excessively to refer to their Australian counterparts. This present study contributes to the existing literature in this area through the examination of Japanese and Australian narratives interculturally, in more personal and intimate situations, from a multi-disciplinary perspective.

1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Data

For the analysis of social activities and interaction, audio recordings have considerable advantages over conventional forms of data used in the social sciences, such as field notes or the responses to questionnaires. One of the strengths of recordings of human activities is that the researcher has access to the richness and complexity of social action, making it possible to play and replay the interaction (Pomerantz and Fehr, 1997: 70). Audio recordings provide raw data to which a range of analytic interests can be applied, unconstrained by the concerns of a particular research project. They give researchers an inexpensive and reliable technology which permits repeatable access to specific details of verbal interactions (Boden and Zimmerman, 1991; Silverman, 1998).

The data I use for this thesis are taken from audiotaped face-to-face conversations between friends and acquaintances. Throughout this study, the stories will be referred to by a letter and number — J indicating a Japanese story, and A indicating an Australian story. The only shortcoming of data collection methodology may be that the narratives were elicited as basically isolated tokens, rather than occurring spontaneously in the flow of a conversation. It would have been much more consistent with the general theoretical approach taken in this study if participants were recorded simply engaging in casual conversations, and then narratives were identified and analysed as they occurred spontaneously within these conversations. However, I had considerable difficulties in obtaining naturally-occurring narratives for an extended period of time. There are many issues to be considered when collecting data, such as appropriate language, ethics, cost, privacy and cultural sensitivity. For these reasons, it was most advisable to use an elicitation technique that enabled collection of sufficient data in the minimum amount of time possible.

Subjects in my study were chosen largely on the basis of availability, rather than random selection. The Japanese participants were aged from 21 to 54, speaking standard or regional dialects of Japanese. The Australian participants were aged from 23 to 52, speaking Australian English. Australia is a multicultural society and ethnicity could be a significant factor in how people tell stories, therefore subjects were drawn only from the largest ethnic group, that is, only Anglo-Australians were sampled. Although the results of this study cannot necessarily be generalised to other groups or extrapolated beyond the framework of this study, the aspects described here represent a reasonably informative picture of Japanese and Australian cultures.

Subjects were chosen on the basis of availability. Table 2 sets forth the number of stories gathered for this study. Any stories that were obviously unsuitable

for analysis were excluded from this study. Examples of unsuitable data included poor recording quality or offensive content. Also, many participants ended up giving a rambling talk. In other words, they did not tell a story and so were not suitable for analysis of narrative structure. This left me with nine stories in Japanese and 12 stories in English. With regard to the English data, I chose the first nine stories that I received to make it equivalent to the number of Japanese stories that I had.

Table 2: The number of stories

	poor recording	offensive content	rambling talk	suitable for analysis	Total
Japanese	0	2	3	9	14
English	1	0	4	12	17

The 18 stories constitute the body of material in chapters 3 and 4 which focus on the interactive features of the narration. For the structural analysis in Chapter 2, I selected three stories from each language because reading all 18 stories in the corpus seemed inordinate. However, these stories are, in my view, representative of the kind of stories that one could hear in ordinary, everyday conversation. The complete titles of the stories and brief descriptions of plots are listed in Appendix 3.

Narrative samples were obtained in various settings. In order to get useful and easily comparable sets of stories, I drafted an "explanatory note" for prospective informants (Appendix 1). This explanatory note ensures that participants will tell a personal experience story in an atmosphere of naturalness without haphazard speculation as to the purpose of my investigation. I wanted to initiate a response in such a way so as to disturb as little as possible the environment conducive to a narrative event, yet while at the same time, of necessity, intruding into it to make my observation.

There are possibly two kinds of conducive environment. The first is where the subjects are prepared for the event of the narrative. Such an environment would occur in a situation such as a television talk show. The subjects are prepared to discuss some aspect of their lives, that is, they have come ready to indulge themselves and be indulged by the host listening who is acting to initiate their response and help them to give a narrative account. This kind of stimulation of narrative event is one of excitement often accompanied by adrenalin. Such an occasion is inspiring and prepared for, that is, notice is given and the event is anticipated long before it occurs. The storytellers are well-prepared emotionally to tell of themselves or something they know about. They are prepared to be the centre of attention.

However, this kind of environment is in sharp contrast to the kind in which people normally tell narratives, i.e. the second environment. Narratives normally occur in a relaxed and casual environment where there is a certain level of trust and intimacy between the people so engaged. Such circumstances have to do with the building of friendships and relationships between the narrator and the listener or audience. Rather than stimulation, relaxation is a key element. It is an environment mutually supportive of the emotional/psychological needs of the participants.

It is unlikely that the first environment (the centre stage environment) is easily able to be reproduced. It is unlikely that the collator of narratives will be able to fulfil the expectations of someone in that sense. In other words, the collator will not be able to provide the stimulation which excites the narrator to the point that he/she feels rewarded by telling a story. Having discounted the first environment it is the second environment being the informal or casual environment of friendship and intimacy which is the focus of this study.

I have therefore attempted to simulate the second environment using the explanatory note. The environment in which recording took place varied from one conversation to another. Firstly, I was often invited into people's homes for social gatherings. Secondly, there were times when I looked for any two people having a lunchtime conversation. In either of the situations, I gave all prospective subjects a copy of the explanatory note.

Instances of conversational storytelling in a task-oriented situation often led to the production of "recipient-initiated" stories, i.e. the non-storyteller asks a question. The participants would discuss what they would talk about before turning the tape recorder on. As a result, in these cases, the transcript normally starts off with direct story-eliciting questions such as "tell me about X". Alternatively, some subjects would talk to each other for a while and then start recounting personal experience stories ("speaker-initiated" and "second" stories). All subjects were aware of being recorded, and knew that the situation was set up to collect stories, but no guidelines were given to them as to what they should talk about.

Having outlined the actual steps in gathering oral stories, a mention should be made of the nature of the researcher's participation. The researcher was not a participant in any of the stories. Before turning the tape recorder on, I requested all subjects to turn it off on their own at a point where they felt that the conversation had come to an end. I then quietly left the room for the subjects to talk freely. The subjects came to me afterwards so that I could retrieve the equipment.

None had previous knowledge of any research on the topic. Although I initially explained my study to the participants, I am not certain how much of it they truly understood or how much they really cared. Some participants may have been totally oblivious of the presence of the recording equipment during various stages of

the interaction. Indeed, most participants admitted this to be the case after a recording session.

1.6.2 Transcription

Both sets of narratives were transcribed according to the conventions of CA (Appendix 2). The analysis of recordings of verbal interaction requires some form of transcription system to enable the researcher to both retrieve and interpret the details of the participants' behaviour. The process of transcription is an essential procedure, providing the researcher with a convenient tool of reference. In CA, a system for capturing the details of talk was initially developed by Gail Jefferson, then modified and adopted by her and many others (Jefferson, 1985, 1989, 1996). Like any transcription system, it is selective (Ochs, 1979) and focuses on the interactional and sequential features of talk. It delineates the location and interrelationship of speakers' utterances within talk by indicating, for example, where utterances overlap, and it pays close attention to the way in which talk is articulated by indicating, for example, where talk is stressed by a speaker. Thus, in transcribing talk the aim is not simply to produce an improved and more legible version of the external phenomena of events rather to transcribe what actually transpires in the interaction. The level of detail in the transcriptions may appear puzzling to social science researchers, although perhaps not to those in the linguistic/psychological community. However, as soon as one begins to work closely with recordings of actual instances of "talk-in-interaction" and apprehend the complexity of the participants' behaviour, it becomes clear why so much care needs to be taken in transcribing talk in a manner designed to show the "how" of talk rather than just the "what" of it.

Wherever possible, I limit lines to basic units, i.e. turn constructional units (TCUs), in order to facilitate clear reference using line numbers. The TCU is a stretch of speech, at the end of which another person could start speaking (Sacks et al., 1974). An addressee will often be able to project the end of the TCU using various cues including gaze and body movement.

Japanese materials (romanised[1]) are presented in the original language, with an English translation given immediately below them, as a separate block of text (cf. Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1991). The Japanese data in this study have been translated into English to the best of my ability. The translation also reflects as far as possible differences between various levels of the language (i.e. honorific, humble, everyday). The subtle differences in nuance between Japanese and Australian minimal responses make it almost impossible to achieve the perfect translation of Japanese minimal responses into English. Although I follow Hayashi et al. (2002: 85) in their translation of *un* as *uh huh*, the reader should be reminded that the validity of translatability of such tokens can be problematic and that such transfer of meaning is to be considered solely as a guide. The overlap information and prosody are not marked in the English translation due to the difference in syntactic structure.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 comprise the analysis of the data. Chapter 2 deals with story parts, in the framework of Labov's story structure, suitable for oral narratives of personal experience, followed by a

[1] "Romanisation" (or "transliteration") involves writing/representing the original Japanese characters and sounds with English letters. There are several systems which can be used to do this. The system which was chosen to romanise the Japanese data in this study is a modified version of the Hepburn system (which is one of the most common systems used today). This widely used system comes closest

discussion of linguistic devices employed by narrators. Chapter 3 examines how stories can be locally occasioned by means of an elicitation or a story preface sequence. Chapter 4 takes a closer look at response tokens that listeners use in the construction of a story. In each of the analytical chapters, the literature review conveys to the reader what knowledge and ideas have been established on a topic, and what their strengths and weaknesses are. A discussion at the end of each chapter is based on the findings of the analysis of data. The final chapter provides a retrospective view by summarising the thesis and explaining the significance of findings to support empirically or challenge current views about the effects of culture on language.

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to representing the correct Japanese sounds. (A description of the Modified Hepburn system can be found in all major Japanese English dictionaries.)

Chapter 2

Internal structure of the narrative

2.1 Introduction

This chapter has two main objectives: (i) to examine fundamental narrative structures evident in oral narratives of personal experience told by Japanese and Australian participants, and (ii) to analyse the data from a cross-linguistic perspective, focusing on culture-specific characteristics in the realisation of orientation and evaluation components of stories.

Basically, people feel a strong need to share their experiences with others (Ochs and Capps, 2001). Narratives engage the interest of an audience because dramatic issues and ideas typically revolve around human needs and desires (Mitchell, 1981; Phelan, 1996). Narratives can be an account of a specific event or a series of connected events (Prince, 1987). Narrators inherently know — or learn — to give a meaningful order to the events or circumstances in the story they are recounting. This is because oral narrative genres most often follow the pattern of beginning, middle and end (Labov, 1997, 2001). Narratives are not only found in all cultures, they are central to maintaining community life and in giving meaning to individual life (Goffman, 1981). Personal experience narratives can connect both the teller and listener to the psychological/social realms. They illustrate that one person's experience or situation in life may be unique, but is really more likely common to others as well.

2.2 Previous studies

A narrative of personal experience is typically constructed using a sequence of clauses that correspond to the order of the original events (Labov and Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972). Personal narratives shape how human beings tend to feel about events and are partially representative and evocative of the world as people experience it. Narratives are versions of personal reality (Ochs and Capps, 1996: 21). These are events that having entered into the speaker's biography do so because they have been emotionally and socially evaluated, being transformed from raw experience. Events which have not been so evaluated, such as recounting the observation of a chess game, cannot therefore be included in a definition of narrative because they have not been so evaluated.

Such an analysis is implicit in Labov and Waletzky's (1967) pioneering work on narrative analysis. They proposed that it is only spontaneous accounts of past personal experience, not the products of expert storytellers that have been retold many times, which could provide a window into the most fundamental forms of narrative structure. With that agenda of throwing light on basic narrative structure, they posed the standard question "were you ever in a situation where you thought you were in serious danger of getting killed?" to more than six hundred American adolescents and adults. They laid out a framework which has proved useful for narrative in general. Labov and Waletzky (LW) presented a formal framework suggesting that the analysis of narrative incorporates a specific linguistic technique to report past events. The LW framework has confirmed that the notion of oral narratives of personal experience extends over a wide variety of narrative situations and types, including oral memoirs, traditional folk tales, *avant garde* novels, therapeutic interviews and most importantly, the ordinary narratives of everyday life (Labov, 1997).

It is important to note here that the data for LW's study were elicited stories collected in interviews rather than "ordinary" narratives. This means that they were answers to questions and occasioned by the interviewer, not the interviewee. Despite this limitation, the model proposed by Labov has proven widely influential in the linguistic literature, as can be seen in the work of narrative analysts including Bamberg (1997), Herman (1999), Johnstone (1993, 2001), Langellier (1989, 2002), Linde (1986, 1993, 2000), Mishler (1986a, 1986b, 1991, 2000), Polanyi (1979, 1982, 1985a, 1985b), Riessman (1993, 2001), Schiffrin (1994) and van Dijk (1988). The structural features (i.e. six components) which Labov identified have been taken as fundamental in the subsequent narrative research.

Labov (1972) conceptualises the narrative as being constructed in structural types corresponding to temporal junctures. The LW framework has six components as listed below:

1. Abstract (optional)
2. Orientation (obligatory)
3. Complicating action (obligatory)
4. Evaluation (obligatory)
5. Result or resolution (obligatory)
6. Coda (optional)

1. Abstract (optional). The abstract serves as a brief summary of the narrative to be presented. When it occurs, it initiates the story by summarising the point or by giving a statement of a general proposition which the story will exemplify. When it does not occur, an incipient teller can begin a story with an orientation. This is prevalent in elicited stories that are produced in answer to a question.

Sometimes the first indication of a forthcoming story is an interaction which may be quite long. Teller and listener will often take turns leading the dialogue to the

story's beginning (establishing the right circumstances for the story to commence). Each aligns to his/her prospective role adapting the occasion to the story's interaction.

2. Orientation (obligatory). The narrator provides information on the time and place, identity of the characters and their behaviour as the orientation to the narrative (Peterson and McCabe, 1983: 33, 221). There are three semantic properties of the orientation:

1. a locative setting in time and/or place;
2. an account of a behavioural situation which may be customary or unique;
3. the introduction of the principal character or characters who participate in the events (Rothery, 1990: 182).

Even after the narrative has begun, these factors may continue to be elaborated and introduced. Therefore, there are two kinds of orientations: "initial" and "ongoing".

3. Complicating action (obligatory). The complicating actions are the portions of the narrative where the story unfolds. They are usually recounted according to their chronological order in real time. The elements of the story should be integrated with each other to make sense to the audience.

4. Evaluation (obligatory). The evaluation states or underscores what is interesting or unusual about the story, why the audience should keep listening and allow the teller to keep talking (Johnstone, 2001: 638). Evaluation delays the forward movement of the narrative at a certain point in narration by the use of many non-narrative clauses, which hold the listener suspended at that point in time (Labov and Fanshel, 1977: 108). The evaluation is the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its *raison d'être*, why it was told (Labov, 1972: 366). Narratives do not merely inform: they convey the importance of the narrated events and tell how these events should be interpreted and weighed by the listener (Peterson and McCabe, 1983: 60).

A number of evaluation devices have been suggested by Labov and others (Labov, 1972: 370-375; Peterson and McCabe, 1983: 222). It appears that in principle the evaluation must stand out from the norm of the narrative text and that almost any element is capable of acting evaluatively, by drawing attention to itself, by being linguistically marked (Cortazzi, 1993: 47).

Labov distinguishes between those evaluations that appear inside from those that appear outside the narratives. The former he refers to as embedded evaluations, and he points out that such embedded evaluations do not disrupt the continuity of the story (Labov, 1972: 372). The latter he refers to as external evaluations. Labov outlines five types of evaluations which range from wholly external to embedded, as summarised below (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 242):

1. Wholly external evaluations where the narrator stops the narrative to address the listener directly and to express an evaluation of the event. For example:

   Wouldn't let us go past, they were going about ten kilometres an hour, as least. I felt, you know, really angry.

2. Evaluations where the narrator attributes the evaluative remark to himself/herself at the moment that the story happened. So it is what the narrator thought to himself/herself at the time of the events. This is an external evaluation that does not overtly break the flow of the story and it is thus an intermediate step between external and embedded evaluations. For example:

   And I thought, "isn't this terrible, just because they were Vietnamese".

3. Evaluations where the narrator embeds a comment made to another participant at the time of the action. For example:

   So I said to Mary, "This makes me really angry".

4. Evaluations which come from another participant in the action. For example:

   And after it all happened, Mary said "It's really frightening, it happens to us all the time".

5. Evaluative action when the narrator tells what people did rather than what they said. For example:

   I just prayed they would drive on.

6. Evaluative conclusion: this occurs when an evaluative comment is embedded in the coda. For example:

   To me it wouldn't worry me, I was just sitting there reading me paper, but just to me, it just bugged me because... they're people that are different.

The above summary shows that evaluation is what gives the text significance; it establishes the point of telling the story. External evaluation implies that the teller comments on the story outside the narrative through direct comments about the point of the story as he/she sees it. When using internal evaluation, on the other hand, the teller's comments on the events in the story are implicit and built into the story. Lexical intensifiers or syntactic, phonological or paralinguistic devices represent internal evaluation embedded in the narrative. Labov maintains that the frequent use of internal or embedded evaluation is a distinctive trait of skilful narration. Thus evaluation, as characterised by Labov, does not have to explicitly state "this is why I'm telling the story", but rather potentially contributes to the listeners' appreciation for why the story is being told (by giving it a subjective flavour).

Finally, a distinction needs to be made between "ongoing" and "final" evaluations. In this connection, Linde (1986: 199) discusses the concept of "point", i.e. the significance that is given to the events in the story, in relation to the notion of reportability. According to Linde, reportability is based on the idea that events must be somewhat extraordinary in order to be accepted by the audience. Therefore, the evaluative devices can be used by the narrator to show some point of interest and why and how the events in the story are worthy of telling and of listening to. With "ongoing" evaluations occurring throughout the narrative, the storyteller can meet the

reportability criteria described above. Also important for the storyteller is to provide a "final" evaluation which sums up the point of the narrative as a whole (Bamberg, 1997; Labov, 1997).

5. Result or resolution (obligatory). The resolution explains what finally happened.

6. Coda (optional). The coda signals the sealing off of a narrative, just as an abstract announces the "opening up" of one. There most common device within codas is the explicit declaring that the narrative proper is over, so that for a recipient now to ask "and then what happened?" would be absurd. The element is often realised by a near redundant narrative external comment as follows:

1. And that is the end of the story.
2. And that was that.
3. And that — that was it, you know.

The item *that* is cohesively tied backwards to some previous text in which a state or conclusion has been rendered, but also deictically pointing to that state or conclusion itself, and now locating that conclusion at a distance from the teller and his/her current position (*that*, not *this* or *here*), no matter how vivid and immediate parts of the telling of the narrative might have been (Toolan, 1988: 162). In some narratives, however, the resolution itself signals the end of the narrative (Clark, 1994: 1015).

The above six divisions reflect storytellers' attempts to collect their ideas together to make a story comprehensible and interesting for the audience. Labov's structural approach is paradigmatic. Most investigators cite it, apply it, or use it as a point of departure (Langellier, 1989, 2002). Labov has shown that narratives have formal properties and each component has a function. A fully formed narrative includes six common components as described above: an abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda. With these components, a teller

constructs a story from a primary experience and interprets the significance of events in evaluation.

My purpose in this section has been to try to consider the Labovian analysis of oral narratives as a truly sociolinguistic phenomenon, an organisation of distinctiveness that operates on evaluative features. Labov examines syntax (also lexicon and phonology) to find the structure of the linear unfolding of a story and to specify what text is evaluative; then how evaluative text makes the story point and justifies the point of the narrator. The method finds the story parts (orientation, complicating actions, resolution, at least) and examines the devices of evaluation. The work set out to show, and has shown, that conversational narratives have clear and reliably regular structures. In the next section, I will discuss the Labovian narrative analysis in a cross-cultural context.

2.3 Cross-cultural approaches to Labov's framework

This section discusses what has been done cross-culturally in terms of Labov's theoretical perspectives, although there have only been a few cross-cultural studies directly related to Labovian story structure.

Cross-cultural studies into the way in which narratives are constructed have generally focussed on culturally specific ways of talking. Aukrust and Snow (1998), for example, look at mealtime conversations to identify similarities and differences between Norwegian and American families. Aukrust and Snow's study suggests that the Norwegian families produce more narrative talk whereas American families produce more explanatory talk. Other cross-cultural studies of narratives (e.g. Blum-Kulka, 1993, 1997; Gleason and Melzi, 1997; Nash, 1990; Tannen, 1980) have

focused on features of narrative production in terms of cognitive, linguistic and social processes.

Fewer cross-cultural studies have been carried out within the Labovian framework. Georgakopoulou (1994, 1997), for example, examines how discourse identities of the teller and listener in the course of modern Greek storytelling are shown to be intertwined with the story's components (e.g. evaluation). However, to the best of my knowledge, there are only two studies (Holmes, 1998; Maynard, 1989) in the literature which focus on cross-cultural comparison of the structural components of stories in accordance with Labov's story structure. In what follows, I will review these two studies in more detail.

Holmes (1998) has compared Maori and Pakeha narratives in an attempt to evaluate socio-cultural differences in storytelling. Maori are the indigenous people of New Zealand currently constituting about 13 per cent of the population. Pakeha is a Maori term widely used to refer to those New Zealanders of European (mainly British) origin who colonised New Zealand in the nineteenth century, and who now make up the majority of the population (p. 26). This means that the behaviour of Pakeha is likely to be similar to that of Australians and other Anglo-Saxons (e.g. Americans) at large.

Holmes focused on two perspectives: firstly, in terms of the way the narrative is presented by the storyteller, and, secondly, in terms of the listener's response to the narrative. With respect to the first perspective, Holmes' findings demonstrate that Pakeha narrators tend to spell out the significance of their stories more explicitly than do Maori narrators. Pakeha narrators tend to indicate the end of a story quite explicitly, generally with a clause expressing a resolution, often introduced by *so*. Components of the Pakeha story such as the evaluation, resolution and coda, as well

as elements of the complicating action tend to be signalled and expressed lexically more extensively than in some Maori stories (p. 42). According to Holmes, the evaluation component in Maori stories was often conveyed through tone of voice, prosody or paralinguistic strategies; the resolution and coda were sometimes omitted. The Maori narrators assumed more often than the Pakeha that these evaluative elements were self-evident. Similarly, there were examples in Maori stories where reported speech was not attributed explicitly to specific characters in a story; the lexical scaffolding typical of reported speech in narratives was omitted (p. 50).

Based on these differences, Holmes suggests that behaving as a polite conversationalist may involve different responses from Maori and Pakeha. Pakeha tend to make things clear, spelling out the point of a story for maximum impact. Holmes argues further that Pakeha narrators used this strategy in order to make their stories more entertaining, more of a performance for their listener's benefit. In some of the Maori stories, by contrast, the denouement is low key, underplayed and inexplicit. The narrator seems to assume that the point is self-evident, and that a climactic ending is unnecessary. The emphasis is therefore on the intimacy of the relationship between the two conversationalists — things do not need to be necessarily spelled out (p. 51).

More directly relevant to this thesis is a study of Japanese narratives by Maynard (1989). Maynard directly addressed the internal organisation of narratives in Japanese conversation with the Labovian model as a starting point. The central debate in her study is one of obligatory versus optional categories of a narrative. Maynard (p. 117) suggests that, although the narrative data in general exhibit similar structural elements as proposed by Labov, not every narrative displays all of the categories. In order to illustrate the narrative discourse in Japanese, Maynard (p. 117-118) proposes

a revised structure (though it is the same in substance as Labov's definition) as follows:

1. Prefacing (obligatory)
2. Setting (obligatory if unknown to the listener)
3. Narrative event (obligatory)
4. Resolution (optional)
5. Evaluation/reportability (optional)
6. Ending remarks (optional)

In this model, the narrative as a whole is identified on an axis within the conversational framework between speakers A and B bordered by two types of interface, one located at the beginning of, and one located at the end of the narrative, that is, the prefacing and ending remarks. Table 3 shows obligatory versus optional story components as identified by Labov and Maynard.

Table 3: Obligatory versus optional story components according to Labov and Maynard

⊕ = obligatory ⊗ = optional

Labov's terminology (Maynard's terminology)	abstract (prefacing)	orientation (setting)	complicating actions (narrative event)	evaluation (evaluation/ reportability)	resolution (resolution)	coda (ending remarks)
Labov	⊗	⊕	⊕	⊕	⊕	⊗
Maynard	⊕	⊕	⊕	⊗	⊗	⊗

Obligatory prefacing warns the prospective recipient that a story will follow and at the same time signals that the teller is willing to claim the conversational floor immediately. In contrast to Labov, Maynard finds prefacing (1) to be obligatory, suggesting that the narrative can be successfully introduced through prefacing. The setting (2) is also obligatory if it is unknown to the listener. A narrative event (3), which is obligatory, describes how the story characters conduct or experience an event that is considered to be interesting to the recipient. The narrative event must minimally contain a sequence consisting of two related chronologically ordered events.

A resolution (4) is optional in Japanese narratives. The resolution, however, is obligatory in Labov's framework. This is because, according to Maynard, the complicating actions are likely to consist of a problem or conflict which must be solved before the story ends, in the case of Labov's narratives of near-death experience. In other words, the kinds of narratives (i.e. ordinary conversational narratives) which Maynard examines do not necessarily contain conflicts that must be resolved. However, when a resolution does not appear in a story, either ending remarks (6) or evaluation/reportability (5) provides the conclusive remark to the story. Maynard further notes that evaluation/reportability and ending remarks must be interactionally recognised. Although these components are not obligatory on the part of the storyteller, if not provided, they must be provided by either the listener or the discourse itself. In case of evaluation/reportability, since narratives are situated in conversation, the conversational context may justify the value or importance of the narrative. The observation that evaluation is optional does not however conform to the Labovian structure in which evaluation is obligatory.

Upon examination of conversational Japanese narratives, Maynard (p. 121) concludes that Japanese narratives exhibit a set of structural components in an identifiable order, excluding clauses directly related to conversation in progress. Some narrative components (resolution, evaluation/reportability) are found to be not obligatory on the part of the storyteller, whereas other components (prefacing, setting, narrative event) are obligatory. Evaluation may be scattered throughout the narrative, as was also noted by Labov.

These two studies (Holmes, 1998; Maynard, 1989) are the only cross-cultural studies to date. It could be that there needs to be more recognition of the importance of investigating the simplest and most fundamental narrative structures in connection

with a perspective presented by Labov, which enables researchers to identify similarities and differences between groups. For example, Holmes (p. 42) finds that Pakeha narrators tend to convey the significance of their stories more explicitly than do Maori narrators. The question then arises as to whether different evaluation strategies exist between Japanese and Australian speakers. If so, how? Similarly, although Maynard (p. 121) suggests that narrative elements such as resolution and evaluation are not obligatory on the part of the narrator, the question arises as to in what context evaluation gets pursued by the listener. This chapter will attempt to throw light on these issues.

2.4 Analysis of the Japanese data

2.4.1 Introduction

In this section, three Japanese stories will be examined for the purpose of uncovering the story structure. Although all nine stories were analysed, for reasons of space, it is only possible to examine three stories in detail. These three stories are representative of the larger group.

2.4.2 Thai tour guide (J1)

The first example is taken from a chat between two housemates, Teruyo and Yumi. Teruyo recounts a tale of her experience in Thailand by recreating certain details of her second visit to Phuket. The Japanese version is given first, followed by the English translation.

1	Yumi	e nani:.
2		(1.0)
3	Teruyo	a ha.
4		(2.6)
5	Yumi	tai chau, tai.

6	Teruyo	>soo soo soo soo,< ima ryokoo no hanashi de omoidashita n dakedo:.
7	Yumi	°un un.°
8		(1.0)
9	Teruyo	ma ryokoo to ieba tai kana.
10	Yumi	ha ha [ha ha anata no ryokoo to ieba tai.
11	Teruyo	[°ha ha ha ha ha ha.°
12	Teruyo	yappa rokkai mo itterushi.
13	Yumi	a ha ha.
14	Teruyo	tai kana¿ mitaina.
15	Yumi	°un.°
16		(0.6)
Abstract		
17	Teruyo	ma: (.) maikai (.) ano (.) anyu:juaruna koto ga okotteru n [dakedo: ha ha ha ha.
18	Yumi	[a ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.
19		(0.8)
Orientation		
20	Teruyo	sono ↑ne, nanka (1.8) saisho ni: (.) itta toki ni::,
21	Yumi	°un.°
21a	Teruyo	itta toki¿ ni: sugoi yoku shitekureta: tsuaagaido-san ga ite::.
22	Yumi	°un.°
23	Teruyo	taijin no¿
24	Yumi	°un.°
25	Teruyo	de-
26	Yumi	otoko? [onna?
27	Teruyo	[un otoko otoko.
28	Yumi	un.
29		(1.4)
30	Teruyo	sorede::
31	Yumi	°un.°
31a	Teruyo	ano:: (.) nihon ni kaetta ato mo::,
32	Yumi	°un.°
32a	Teruyo	nanka koo (.) denwa toka kure(.)tari toka shite::.
33	Yumi	sore nanka:.
34	Yumi	°ha ha.°
35		(0.5)
36	Yumi	un maa [doozo¿
37	Teruyo	[un:.
38	Teruyo	de: (2.1) sorede:: (.) >ma betsuni atashi wa zenze:n< (1.8) ma (1.0) nan te yuu no (.) sugoi honkide suki toka sooyuu n ja-nakatta n dakedo:.
39	Yumi	°un.°
40	Teruyo	ma sugoi tanoshikute:, yoku shitemoratta(.)shi:.
41		(1.2)
Orientation		
42	Teruyo	de (0.5) tamatama sono atoni:::, hantoshi:: (0.7) gurai tatta ato kana¿ (.) ni:, ((clears throat)) tomodachi ga (.) shingapooru ni ryuugakushiteta kara:,
43	Yumi	°un.°
43a	Teruyo	asobi ni iku koto ni natta no ne¿
44	Yumi	°un.°
45	Teruyo	de ↑jaa shingapooru to puuketto chikai jan tte [yuu koto de:-
46	Yumi	[doo chikai noka yoku [waka-
47	Teruyo	[iya: chikai yo, chikai, hikooki de ichijikan gurai dakara:.
48	Yumi	°u:n.°
49	Teruyo	↑ja: ano: tsuideni ikoo tsutte:.
50	Yumi	°un.°
51	Teruyo	de: (.) koo (.) tomodachi no (.) otokonoko to: (.) hutaride itta wake.
52		(.)
53	Yumi	°u:n.°
54	Teruyo	puuketto ni.
55	Yumi	°un.°=
56	Teruyo	=de sore ga atashi nikaime ↓de.
57		(.)
58	Teruyo	de:, ja i↑ku n dattara: (.) sono:: (.) ne¿, tsuaagaido-san ni °mo° AITAI jan, te yuu yoona hanashi de::.
59	Yumi	°hun hun [hun.°
Complicating actions		
60	Teruyo	[de (.) itte:, de: (1.0) "iya jitsu wa ima puuketto ni iru n da yo ne:" toka itte koo denwa o shita no::.
61	Yumi	°un.°

62		(0.7)
63	Teruyo	soshitara sono toki kaisha ni (.) <inakutte::.>
64	Yumi	°un.°=
65	Teruyo	=de: nanka nihonjin no onna no hito ga "ja tsutaetokimasu ne::¿" toka itte.
66		(0.4)
Complicating actions		
67	Teruyo	de atashi wa dokka asobi ni ittete::.
68	Yumi	°un.°
69	Teruyo	de kaettekitara choodo denwa ga atte::.
70	Yumi	°un.°
71	Teruyo	nanka moo (.) "ima (.) hoteru no robii ni kitemasu" toka itte::.
72	Yumi	°un.°
73		(0.6)
74	Teruyo	de:: ((clears throat)) (1.3) asobi ni (0.5) itta no ne¿
75	Yumi	°un.°
76	Teruyo	de sono toki wa tada gohan tabete (.) kaettekite::.
77	Teruyo	((clears throat)) de "mata jaa moo ikkai gohan tabe ni ikimashoo",
78	Yumi	°un.°
78a	Teruyo	tte yutte::.
79		(2.8)
80	Teruyo	de:: (.) sono toki saishoni kita toki wa:, nanka ((clears throat)) kaisha no kuru↑ma: (.) o tsukatte:, purasu <untenshu tsuki de kita wake.>
81	Yumi	°u:n.°
82	Teruyo	dakara yokatta n dakedo:.
83		(0.5)
84	Teruyo	tsugi wa nanka kitara::, "kuruma ga: (.) moo chotto karirenakatta" tte yutte:.
Orientation/Complicating actions		
85	Teruyo	de: (.) atashi ga choodo (.) koo rentaru baiku o kariteta wake:.
86	Teruyo	a:no:: nihon de yuu nan te yuu no?
87	Yumi	gencha?
88	Teruyo	sobaya no (.) ano suupaakabu:¿
89		(0.9)
90	Yumi	°un hun hun [hun hun.°
91	Teruyo	[a- ano midoriiro no yatsu an jan.
92	Teruyo	>shinbunhaitatsu toka de yoku tsukatteru yatsu.<
93	Yumi	°un hun hun [hun hun.°
94	Teruyo	[gencha da- demo chotto gia ga tsuiteru yatsu¿
95		(1.8)
96	Yumi	ano::: (2.2) un.
97	Teruyo	un.
98	Yumi	nantonaku.
99	Teruyo	mukashi no ne¿
100		(0.7)
101	Teruyo	de:: (0.6) shita- k- sono hi: atashi no tomodachi wa::, sugoi nanka shokuchuudoku mitaina no ni (.) atacchatte::.
102	Yumi	°un.°
103	Teruyo	de "ore wa totemo dekakerarenai" to.
104	Yumi	°u:n.°
105	Teruyo	de "omae hitoride ittekoi" to.
106	Yumi	°un.°
107		(0.5)
108	Teruyo	de: (.) atashi:: ga sono hito "jaa atashi:: (.) baiku kariteru kara ja sore de iku:" toka itte:.
109		(.)
110	Teruyo	de hutaride gohan tabe ni itte:.
111	Yumi	°un.°
112	Teruyo	de nomi ni itte:.
113	Yumi	°un.°
114		(0.4)
Complicating actions		
115	Teruyo	shitara soko de koo (.) iiai ni natta wake.
116		(0.4)
117	Teruyo	de nanka (1.4) "kyoo wa isshoni imashoo" mitaina koto iwarete:.
118	Yumi	°un.°
119	Teruyo	de tondemonai toka omotte::.
120	Yumi	°un.°
121	Teruyo	tomodachi matterushi::.
122		(0.6)
123	Teruyo	de:: (0.8) "atashi wa kaeru" to.
124		(0.3)
125	Teruyo	((clears throat)) shitara:, kekkoo nanka (0.5) atashi no

		hoteru kara sugoi tooi tokoro ni kitete::.
126	Yumi	°un.°
127	Teruyo	nde: (.) ATASHI wa moo doko ni iru ka mo wakannakatta wake,
128	Yumi	°un.°
128a	Teruyo	hakkiri itte.
129		(1.0)
130	Teruyo	de KARE no ie wa koko kara chikai to.
131	Yumi	°un.°
132	Teruyo	sono resutoran kara ↑ne.
133	Yumi	°un.°
134	Teruyo	demo atashi no hoteru wa tooi to.
135	Yumi	°hun.°
136	Teruyo	de: (0.7) moshi jibun ga atashi o okuttettara::,
137	Yumi	°un.°
137a	Teruyo	baiku ↑de:, de atashi no baiku ↑jan shikamo,
138	Yumi	toma[tte kaere-
138a	Teruyo	["sono hoteru kara KAERENAI" toka iidashita no:.
139	Yumi	°u:n.°
140		(0.9)
141	Teruyo	de:: (1.2) dakara nanka (0.4) "kyoo wa okutteikenaishi nanka moo koko de isshoni nanka TOMARIMASHOO" mitai↑na: (.) iki[oi ni natte::.
142	Yumi	[°u:::n.°
143		(0.7)
144	Teruyo	de atashi wa ZETTAI iya da ↓to.
145		(1.0)
146	Teruyo	de:: (0.3) demo BAIKU o oitekaeru wake ni mo ikanai ↑jan,
147	Yumi	°u::[:n.°
147a	Teruyo	[atashi no dashi.
148		(1.0)
149	Teruyo	de:: (0.3) suggoi kangaete::.
150	Teruyo	dooshiyoo dooshiyoo doosiyoo tsutte:.
151		(0.6)
Complicating actions		
152	Teruyo	"wakatta".
153	Teruyo	"jaa atashi ↑ga, anata o okuTTE:,
154	Yumi	°u:[n.°
154a	Teruyo	[sok kara atashi KAERU wa".
155	Yumi	°u:n.°
156		(0.5)
157	Teruyo	shitara nanka (1.3) "baiku unten dekin no?" tte kikarete::.
158	Yumi	°u:n.°
159		(0.7)
160	Teruyo	hakkiri itte (.) zenzen shiranai n dakedo:::, ">a dekiru dekiru<" toka itte::.
161	Yumi	a ha ha.
162	Teruyo	hora huite::.
163	Yumi	u:n.
164	Teruyo	demo kokoro no (.) ichiban okusoko dewa (.) nanda kanda itte okuttekure n daroo ↑na to omotta no:,
165	Yumi	°un.°
166		(1.5)
166a	Teruyo	abunai kara ↑ne.
167	Yumi	°u:n.°
168	Teruyo	demo sugoi yoru osokutte:::, juuniji gurai de:::.
169		(0.4)
170	Teruyo	de atashi michi mo wakannaishi:::.
171	Yumi	°u:n.°
172	Teruyo	de (.) sona- giatsuki no baiku mo untenshita koto naishi:::.
173	Yumi	°u:n.°
174		(0.4)
175	Teruyo	shikamo sono hoteru kara sono resutoran >made no aida ni koo yama ga< ikko aru wake::.
176	Yumi	nan te yuu toko made [itta wake anta:.
177	Teruyo	[ha ha ha ha.
178		(0.7)
Complicating actions		
179	Teruyo	de:, "jaa, maa kaerokka" [tsutte hutaride notte::.
180	Yumi	[°u:n.°
181	Teruyo	saisho kare ga untenshite::.
182		(0.3)
183	Teruyo	buun te hashitte (.) tomatte.
184		(0.3)
185	Teruyo	"jaa ano, boku koko ga boku no ie dakara (.) JAA", nante iwarete::.
186	Teruyo	↑e:, °okuttekurenai no° (0.8) de- "AA AA AA", tsu(.)tte.

187	Teruyo	"ano ↑sa: chotto kaeru maeni::, kore doo yatte untensun no" toka itte.
188	Teruyo	.hh shitara (.) "EE" toka itte.
189	Teruyo	"yapppari nanka abunai kara:, tomatteikimashoo" toka itte.
190	Yumi	°u:n.°
191	Teruyo	"iya, >daijoobu daijoobu daijoobu,< chotto (.) ano: (.) bureeki toka dake oshietekurereba::, daijoobu dakara" tsutte:.
192		(1.0)
193	Teruyo	de, os- chotto dake oshietemoratte::.
194	Yumi	°u:n.°
195	Teruyo	n de "docchi ikeba ii no" toka itte.
196	Teruyo	de "toriaezu koko massugu desu" toka itte.
197	Teruyo	de "wakatta, °jaa ne:" toka itte.°
198		(0.7)
199	Teruyo	de toriaezu::, hashiridashita no::,
200	Yumi	°u:n.°
200a	Teruyo	nantoka.
201	Yumi	°u:n.°
202		(0.6)
203	Teruyo	de:, SUGGOI kowai kara:, nan- moo suggoi oogoede utainagara GAA tsutte hashittete::.
204	Yumi	°u:n.°=
Complicating actions		
205	Teruyo	=demo shingoo toka de tomaru↑to:, minna min no.
206		(1.1)
207	Teruyo	nooheru dashi: (.) nanka koo (.) taijin no- >otoko no hito bakkari damon< yoru da[shi::.
208	Yumi	[°u:::n.°
209	Teruyo	nan- nande onna ga >konna tokoro de hitoride< (.) baiku notten da (.) tte yuu kanji de[::.
210	Yumi	[°u:n.°
211		(1.2)
212	Teruyo	de soredemo nanka toriaezu ganbatte kaeranakya, to omotte::.
213		(0.6)
Complicating actions (crisis)		
214	Teruyo	zutto hashitteta no ne:.
215	Yumi	°u:n.°
216		(1.0)
217	Teruyo	de:, shitara koo ya↑ma ni sashikakari::.
218	Yumi	°u::n.°
219	Teruyo	nanka (0.4) saisho wa kaichooni nobotteta n dakedo::.
220	Yumi	°u:n.°
221	Teruyo	SUGGOI kyuuna yamamichi de::::.
222		(.)
223	Teruyo	soko wa watashi wa tabun (0.5) sansoku gurai de hashitteta ka[ra:::,
224	Yumi	[oo::: sorya ensuto [daroo.
224a	Teruyo	[a ha ha TOMACCHATTE::.
225		(0.5)
226	Teruyo	A- (.) YABAI (0.7) tte GAA tte tobiorite::, koo sasaeta n dakedo::, dokomo hurattona tokoro ga nai kara:, moo nanka (0.3) konomama (.) kono jootai (.) do- doo shiyoo::.
227		(0.4)
228	Teruyo	°kuraishi:, yama dashi:, kowaishi:° [mitaina.
229	Yumi	[°ha ha.°
230	Teruyo	moo ENJIN no kakekata sura mo yoku wakan↑nai.
231	Yumi	°u:::n.°
232		(0.3)
Complicating actions (major climax)		
233	Teruyo	de nakisoo ni nattetara tamatama atashi no mae o hashitteta hito ↑ga::, nanka (0.7) kitekure[te::.
234	Yumi	[°u::n.°
235	Teruyo	de:: (.) nanka (.) chanto enjin toka zenbu kaketekurete::¿
236		(0.4)
237	Teruyo	de "doko made iku no:" tsutte.
238	Teruyo	"°iya: patonbiichi made ikitai n da ne.°"
239	Teruyo	"JAA ano, °boku ga, mae o hashitteageru ka↑ra::, ja ushironi tottsuiteoide" toka itte.°
240	Yumi	°u::n.°
241	Teruyo	de moo SUGGOI kandooshite::.
242	Teruyo	.h nan- "suggoi arigatoo" °tsu[tte.°
243	Yumi	[°u::n.°
244	Teruyo	demo nanka (0.6) KARE wa (.) hontoni (.) >nihongo mo shaberenaishi eego mo sha- hotondo< shaberenakutte::, anmari (.) umaku (.) komyunikeeshon torena↑i.

245	Yumi	°u::n.°
246		(1.4)
247	Teruyo	demo koo mo- toriaezu yokatta korede kaereru yo: toka omotte zuutto tsuite hashittete::.
248		(0.6)
Complicating actions (minor climax)		
249	Teruyo	soide::, nanka ((clears throat)) (0.8) shitara KARE ga koo TOMATTA wake:.
250	Yumi	°u:::n.°
251	Teruyo	de ya- a koko ka yatto tsuita yo toka omottara:, nanka (0.8) "sanposhiyoo ze" mitaina, ["hamabe o sanposhiyoo ze" mitaina,
252	Yumi	[a ha.
252a	Teruyo	e he he.
253	Teruyo	.hh demo nanka tasuketemoratta kara:::, nanka (0.6) iya-
254	Yumi	tsuiteccha::::.
254a	Teruyo	iya: tomo ienai[shi::.
255	Yumi	[°u::n.°
256	Teruyo	mata koko doko jootai mitaina kanji de:::.
257	Yumi	°u::n.°
258	Teruyo	°de "aa jaa" toka itte.°
259	Teruyo	°de koo chotto dake (.) koo aruite::.°
260	Teruyo	°nanka (.) "shigoto nani yatten no::" toka:.°
261		(0.9)
262	Teruyo	de: (1.3) shitara nanka "denwabangoo o oshietekure" toka yuu kara::, "iya chotto sore wa muri".
263		(0.4)
264	Teruyo	"ja ANATA no oshiete" tta.
265	Teruyo	de atashi wa maa, doose kakenakya ii ya to omotte.
266		(0.2)
267	Teruyo	kare no dake kiite:.
268		(0.3)
269	Teruyo	"demo doko ni tomatten no" tte kikareta kara tomatteru hoteru no namae dake yutta no.
270		(1.7)
271	Teruyo	de atashi wa moo (.) ano (.) "tomodachi kiterushi:" toka i- "kaennakyaikenai kara::" tsutte.
272		(0.5)
273	Teruyo	de "moo koko wa sugoi chikaku dakara::, ato massugu iku dake da yo" tte ittekurete:.
274	Teruyo	°"aa wakatta:" tsutte.°
275		(1.1)
276	Teruyo	de "jaa ne bai bai" tsutte sono hito wa koo (0.8) koo satteitta wake,
277	Yumi	°u::n.°
277a	Teruyo	sono shinshi wa.
278	Yumi	°un.°
279	Teruyo	de aa yoku- yatto kaereru yo: toka omottara, mata enjin kakannai no:.
280		(0.3)
281	Teruyo	wakannai no:.
282		(0.3)
283	Teruyo	.hh shitara mata juppun go gurai ni buu toka itte modottekitekurete:::.
284	Teruyo	enjin dake koo kaketekurete::.
285	Yumi	°u::n.°
286	Teruyo	°"doomo arigatoo" tte kanji de::.°
287	Yumi	°sono toki ni sassato kakete (.) satteike yo tte kanji da yo ne.°
Resolution		
288	Teruyo	de::, sono ochi wa::.
289		(0.5)
290	Teruyo	de toriaezu (.) tadoritsuita wake hoteru ni.
291		(0.4)
292	Teruyo	"YA:TTO tsuita yo" toka omotte "hayaku kono koto o tomodachi ni shaberitai" toka omotte, .hh GAA tte heya made itte:, GAA tte aketara:, MAKKURA na no::.
293		(1.0)
294	Teruyo	de "tadaima" toka ittara::, makkura no naka kara:, "okaeri" toka itte detekite, "doo shita no konna makkura de" toka itte.
295		(0.3)
296	Teruyo	shitara da- koo "iyaa saa" toka itte:.
297	Teruyo	"omae kagi mottetta ja::n" toka itte.
298		(1.2)
299	Teruyo	de (.) sore tte nanka sono KAGI NO::,
300	Yumi	°u:::n.°
300a	Teruyo	ni tsuiteru koo [yuu kaado o, GACCHAN te yaruto denki ga
301	Yumi	[AA:::::::::.

301a	Teruyo	tsuku heya de.
302	Teruyo	demo sore o hutari tomo shi- (.) shiranakute yoku::.
303		(0.5)
304	Teruyo	nanka wasurechattete:[:.
305	Yumi	[°u::n.°
306	Teruyo	de atashi ga "ittekuru ne" tte "jaa omae kagi motteke yo" tsutte "aa motteku motteku" tsutte koo mottetta GOHUN GO gurai ni IKINARI (.) BAAN te zenbu kieta no, kuuraa mo terebi mo [denki mo.
307	Yumi	[a ha ha.
308	Teruyo	ha ha ha de kare wa sono makkura no naka de::, zutto atashi no koto o mattete.
309	Teruyo	.hh de atashi wa atashi de sooyuu hitoride wake wakannai koto yattete::.
310		(1.2)
311	Teruyo	.hh "omae yoku kaettekoreta naa" toka itte.
312		(0.4)
Coda		
313	Teruyo	sore wa waraibanashi de owatta n dakedo.
314		(0.5)
315	Yumi	kawaisoo kare.
316	Teruyo	a ha ha.
317	Teruyo	.hhh nanka (0.4) amarinimo onaka ga suite ruumusaabisu o totta rashii n dakedo::, .h mottekita hito mo bikkurishite::, >makkura no naka kara hito ga detekita kara:< °ha ha ha [ha ha ha ha ha ha.°
318	Yumi	[e ja: tanomeba ii jan SONO HITO NI: HOTERU NI::::.
319	Teruyo	.hhh ha ha .hh iya kare mo eego ga dekinai hito datta kara °nanka.°
320		(0.5)
321	Yumi	ganbaroo yo:, KII toka[:::.
322	Teruyo	[a ha ha.
323	Yumi	tomodachi itta toka:.
324	Teruyo	ha::.
325		(1.4)
326	Teruyo	ma sooyuu koto ga atta wake de::.
327	Yumi	naruho[do ne:::.
328	Teruyo	[ee::::.
((tape turned off))		

★English translation

1	Yumi	What?
2		(1.0)
3	Teruyo	A ha.
4		(2.6)
5	Yumi	Didn't you want to say something about Thailand?
6	Teruyo	Right, right, speaking of travel, I just remembered something.
7	Yumi	Uh huh.
8		(1.0)
9	Teruyo	Well, speaking of travel reminds me of Thailand.
10	Yumi	Ha ha ha ha for you, travel is synonymous with Thailand.
11	Teruyo	Ha ha ha ha ha ha.
12	Teruyo	Well, I've been there six times.
13	Yumi	A ha ha.
14	Teruyo	So Thailand it is.
15	Yumi	Uh huh.
16		(0.6)
Abstract		
17	Teruyo	Well, every time I go there something unusual happens.
18	Yumi	A ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.
19		(0.8)
Orientation		
20	Teruyo	Well, when I went there for the first time,
21	Yumi	Uh huh.
21a	Teruyo	I had a tour guide who did so much for me.
22	Yumi	Uh huh.
23	Teruyo	A Thai tour guide.
24	Yumi	Uh huh.
25	Teruyo	And-
26	Yumi	Male? Female?
27	Teruyo	Yeah, a man.
28	Yumi	Uh huh.
29		(1.4)
30	Teruyo	And then...
31	Yumi	Uh huh.
31a	Teruyo	uhm... even after I went back to Japan,
32	Yumi	Uh huh.
32a	Teruyo	he... uhm... called me.
33	Yumi	Wow, that's....

34	Yumi	Ha ha.
35		(0.5)
36	Yumi	Well, go on.
37	Teruyo	Yeah.
38	Teruyo	And... and then... well, how shall I put it, it wasn't that I truly liked him or anything like that.
39	Yumi	Uh huh.
40	Teruyo	Well, I had a good time (in Thailand) and he was very kind to me.
41		(1.2)
Orientation		
42	Teruyo	And after that... about half a year later, since my friend was studying in Singapore,
43	Yumi	Uh huh.
43a	Teruyo	I thought I'd visit him.
44	Yumi	Uh huh.
45	Teruyo	And as Singapore and Phuket are close-
46	Yumi	I can't see how those two cities are close-
47	Teruyo	Oh no, they are close. It takes about an hour by plane.
48	Yumi	Uh huh.
49	Teruyo	So I thought I might as well visit Phuket at the same time.
50	Yumi	Uh huh.
51	Teruyo	And... like... I went there with my male friend.
52		(.)
53	Yumi	Uh huh.
54	Teruyo	I mean, to Phuket.
55	Yumi	Uh huh.
56	Teruyo	And that was my second visit (to Thailand).
57		(.)
58	Teruyo	And so if I'm going there, that... you know, I want to meet up with that tour guide.
59	Yumi	Hum hum hum.
Complicating actions		
60	Teruyo	And I went and called (his office) and said "well, to tell you the truth, I'm now in Phuket".
61	Yumi	Uh huh.
62		(0.7)
63	Teruyo	And then he wasn't in the office when I called him.
64	Yumi	Uh huh.
65	Teruyo	And like this Japanese woman said "well, I'll give him the message".
66		(0.4)
Complicating actions		
67	Teruyo	And I went out somewhere.
68	Yumi	Uh huh.
69	Teruyo	And when I got back the phone rang.
70	Yumi	Uh huh.
71	Teruyo	Like, well... he said "I'm in the hotel lobby now".
72	Yumi	Uh huh.
73		(0.6)
74	Teruyo	And... we went out.
75	Yumi	Uh huh.
76	Teruyo	And we just had a meal and came back.
77	Teruyo	And "let's go out and get something to eat again",
78	Yumi	Uh huh.
78a	Teruyo	he said that.
79		(2.8)
80	Teruyo	And... on that occasion... like... he picked me up using his company car and came with a chauffeur.
81	Yumi	Uh huh.
82	Teruyo	So that was fine.
83		(0.5)
84	Teruyo	The next time when he came... he said "I couldn't borrow the car".
Orientation/Complicating actions		
85	Teruyo	And... I had hired a motorcycle.
86	Teruyo	Uhm... what do we call it in Japan?
87	Yumi	A moped?
88	Teruyo	It's the kind of motorcycle used by noodle restaurants. It looks like a Honda Super Kabu.
89		(0.9)
90	Yumi	Uh huh, hum hum hum hum.
91	Teruyo	You know the green one.
92	Teruyo	It's used by newspaper delivery people.
93	Yumi	Uh huh hum hum hum hum.
94	Yumi	It's like a moped with gears.
95		(1.8)
96	Yumi	Uhm... uh huh.
97	Teruyo	Yeah.
98	Yumi	I can sort of get the picture.
99	Teruyo	The old-fashioned one.

100		(0.7)
101	Teruyo	And... that day my friend had food poisoning.
102	Yumi	Uh huh.
103	Teruyo	And he said "there's no way I can go out".
104	Yumi	Uh huh.
105	Teruyo	And he said "you can go on by yourself".
106	Yumi	Uh huh.
107		(0.5)
108	Teruyo	And... I said to the tour guide "look, I've hired a motorcycle so shall we go with that?"
109		(.)
110	Teruyo	And the two of us went out and had dinner.
111	Yumi	Uh huh.
112	Teruyo	And we had drinks.
113	Yumi	Uh huh.
114		(0.4)
Complicating actions		
115	Teruyo	And then there we got into an argument.
116		(0.4)
117	Teruyo	And like... he said to me "we should be together today".
118	Yumi	Uh huh.
119	Teruyo	And I thought no way.
120	Yumi	Uh huh.
121	Teruyo	Besides my friend is waiting.
122		(0.6)
123	Teruyo	And... (I said) "I'm going back (to my hotel)".
124		(0.3)
125	Teruyo	And then... like... I had come to a place quite faraway from my hotel.
126	Yumi	Uh huh.
127	Teruyo	And... I didn't even know where I was,
128	Yumi	Uh huh.
128a	Teruyo	to be perfectly frank.
129		(1.0)
130	Teruyo	And he says his house is very near here.
131	Yumi	Uh huh.
132	Teruyo	I mean from the restaurant, you see.
133	Yumi	Uh huh.
134	Teruyo	But he says my hotel is far.
135	Yumi	Hmm.
136	Teruyo	And... if he took me home,
137	Yumi	Uh huh.
137a	Teruyo	by motorcycle, and besides it's my motorcycle,
138	Yumi	Spend a night-
138a	Teruyo	he started saying "I won't be able to return home from that hotel".
139	Yumi	Uh huh.
140		(0.9)
141	Teruyo	And... so like... he was brave enough to say "I can't take you to your hotel today so let's spend a night together here".
142	Yumi	Uh huh.
143		(0.7)
144	Teruyo	And that made me sick.
145		(1.0)
146	Teruyo	And... but I can't leave the motorcycle behind,
147	Yumi	Uh huh.
147a	Teruyo	because that's mine.
148		(1.0)
149	Teruyo	And... I thought hard.
150	Teruyo	I kept wondering just what I should do.
151		(0.6)
Complicating actions		
152	Teruyo	(I said) "I know".
153	Teruyo	(I said) "well then I'll take you home,
154	Yumi	Uh huh.
154a	Teruyo	and from there I'll go back to my hotel".
155	Yumi	Uh huh.
156		(0.5)
157	Teruyo	Then like... he asked me "can you ride a motorcycle?"
158	Yumi	Uh huh.
159		(0.7)
160	Teruyo	To tell you the truth I don't know a thing (about motorcycles), but I said "sure I can".
161	Yumi	A ha ha.
162	Teruyo	I talked big.
163	Yumi	Uh huh.
164	Teruyo	But at the bottom of my heart I thought he would take me back (to my hotel) regardless of what he said,
165	Yumi	Uh huh.
166		(1.5)

166a	Teruyo	besides it's unsafe, you know.
167	Yumi	Uh huh.
168	Teruyo	But it was very late at night... about twelve midnight.
169		(0.4)
170	Teruyo	And I don't know the way (to the hotel).
171	Yumi	Uh huh.
172	Teruyo	And... I haven't driven a motorcycle with gears.
173	Yumi	Uh huh.
174		(0.4)
175	Teruyo	On top of that there is a mountain between the hotel and the restaurant.
176	Yumi	Why did you go to such a place?
177	Teruyo	Ha ha ha ha.
178		(0.7)
Complicating actions		
179	Teruyo	And... he said "well, let's go home" and the two of us hopped onto (the motorcycle).
180	Yumi	Uh huh.
181	Teruyo	And first he drove.
182		(0.3)
183	Teruyo	He kept going and... stopped.
184		(0.3)
185	Teruyo	He said "well, uhm, this is my house so... see you".
186	Teruyo	What? He's not going to take me back (to my hotel)? And I said "ah ah ah".
187	Teruyo	I said "before you go home, show me how to use this thing".
188	Teruyo	Then he said "what?"
189	Teruyo	He said "after all, it's unsafe so let's spend a night together".
190	Yumi	Uh huh.
191	Teruyo	I said "no, I'm fine... uhm... if you just show me the brake I'll be fine".
192		(1.0)
193	Teruyo	And... he showed me how a little.
194	Yumi	Uh huh.
195	Teruyo	And I said "which way should I go?"
196	Teruyo	He said "first of all go straight".
197	Teruyo	I said "okay, see you".
198		(0.7)
199	Teruyo	I managed to get the motorcycle to start,
200	Yumi	Uh huh.
200a	Teruyo	somehow.
201	Yumi	Uh huh.
202		(0.6)
203	Teruyo	And... I was extremely scared so I was singing loudly while driving.
204	Yumi	Uh huh.
Complicating actions		
205	Teruyo	But when I stop at a traffic light people stare at me.
206		(0.5)
207	Teruyo	I'm not wearing a helmet and there are only Thai men and it's night.
208	Yumi	Uh huh.
209	Teruyo	It's like they wonder why a woman is riding a motorcycle in a place like this alone.
210	Yumi	Uh huh.
211		(1.2)
212	Teruyo	But still I thought I should do my best to get back in a hurry.
213		(0.6)
Complicating actions (crisis)		
214	Teruyo	I kept driving, you know.
215	Yumi	Uh huh.
216		(1.0)
217	Teruyo	And... I came near to the mountain.
218	Yumi	Uh huh.
219	Teruyo	Like... I was ascending smoothly at the beginning, but....
220	Yumi	Uh huh.
221	Teruyo	It was a very steep mountain path.
222		(.)
223	Teruyo	I was probably driving there putting the motorcycle in third so
224	Yumi	Oh, that will cause your engine to stall.
224a	Teruyo	a ha ha it ended up stopping.
225		(0.5)
226	Teruyo	(I thought) this is bad and I jumped off the motorcycle and held it like this but there is no flat area anywhere so... like... what should I do with this mess.
227		(0.4)
228	Teruyo	Like it's dark, I'm on a mountain and scared.
229	Yumi	Ha ha.
230	Teruyo	I don't even know how to start the engine.

231	Yumi	Uh huh.
232		(0.3)
Complicating actions (major climax)		
233	Teruyo	And as I was about to burst into tears, someone who happened to be driving ahead of me... like... came towards me.
234	Yumi	Uh huh.
235	Teruyo	And... like... he started the engine and everything for me.
236		(0.4)
237	Teruyo	And he said "where are you headed to?"
238	Teruyo	(He said) "so you want to go to Patong Beach".
239	Teruyo	He said "then uhm... I will go ahead of you... and you follow me".
240	Yumi	Uh huh.
241	Teruyo	And I was deeply touched by that.
242	Teruyo	I said "thank you very much".
243	Yumi	Uh huh.
244	Teruyo	But, like... he can't really speak Japanese and he can hardly speak English so we can't communicate with each other very well.
245	Yumi	Uh huh.
246		(1.4)
247	Teruyo	But, like... for the time being I thought I could go back (to my hotel) now and I kept driving.
248		(0.6)
Complicating actions (minor climax)		
249	Teruyo	And then... like... then he stopped.
250	Yumi	Uh huh.
251	Teruyo	And when I thought I finally arrived (at my hotel) he said "let's take a walk", like "let's take a walk on the beach",
252	Yumi	Ha ha.
252a	Teruyo	e he he.
253	Teruyo	But like he saved me so like oh-
254	Yumi	You follow him.
254a	Teruyo	I can't say no.
255	Yumi	Uh huh.
256	Teruyo	Once again it's like where am I....
257	Yumi	Uh huh.
258	Teruyo	And (I said) "okay then".
259	Teruyo	And like we walked just a little.
260	Teruyo	Like... (I said) "what do you do?"
261		(0.9)
262	Teruyo	And... then like he said "give me your phone number" and I said "oh that's impossible".
263		(0.4)
264	Teruyo	I said "then why don't you give me yours?"
265	Teruyo	And I thought well... I won't call him in any case.
266		(0.2)
267	Teruyo	So I only got his.
268		(0.3)
269	Teruyo	But he asked me "where are you staying?" so I just gave him the name of the hotel where I was staying.
270		(1.7)
271	Teruyo	And I said... uhm... "my friend is here" or "I need to get back so...".
272		(0.5)
273	Teruyo	And he said "here is very close (to your hotel) so you just need to go straight".
274	Teruyo	I said "okay".
275		(1.1)
276	Teruyo	And he said "well then, bye bye" and like... took off,
277	Yumi	Uh huh.
277a	Teruyo	I mean the gentleman did.
278	Yumi	Uh huh.
279	Teruyo	And when I thought "ah I can go back (to my hotel)", again I can't start the engine.
280		(0.3)
281	Teruyo	I don't know how.
282		(0.3)
283	Teruyo	Then after ten minutes he came back.
284	Teruyo	He started the engine for me.
285	Yumi	Uh huh.
286	Teruyo	I said "thank you very much".
287	Yumi	He should have started (the engine) and left in the first place, don't you think?
Resolution		
288	Teruyo	And... the punch line of the story is....
289		(0.5)
290	Teruyo	And I managed to arrive at my hotel.
291		(0.4)
292	Teruyo	I thought "I've arrived at my hotel at last" and "I want to share this thing with my friend", I rushed to my room, and

		when I opened the door it was pitch-dark.
293		(1.0)
294	Teruyo	When I said "I'm home"... out of the pitch-darkness appeared (my friend) and said "welcome home" and I said "what are you doing in this pitch-darkness?"
295		(0.3)
296	Teruyo	He said "well you see".
297	Teruyo	He said "you took the key with you".
298		(1.2)
299	Teruyo	And... with the key,
300	Yumi	Uh huh.
300a	Teruyo	the key has a card and you stick it in and then
301	Yumi	Ah!
301a	Teruyo	the room lights up.
302	Teruyo	But neither of us knew that.
303		(0.5)
304	Teruyo	We had forgotten about that.
305	Yumi	Uh huh.
306	Teruyo	And I said "see you" and he said "take the key with you" and I said "okay, I'll take it" and about five minutes after that the lights turned off, the air-conditioner and the television and the lights.
307	Yumi	A ha ha.
308	Teruyo	Ha ha ha and he was waiting for me all along in the pitch-darkness.
309	Teruyo	And I was doing all those incomprehensible things the whole time.
310		(1.2)
311	Teruyo	He said "I'm amazed that you returned safely".
312		(0.4)
Coda		
313	Teruyo	It ended as a funny story but.
314		(0.5)
315	Yumi	Poor guy.
316	Teruyo	A ha ha.
317	Teruyo	Like... he got so hungry that he had room service but the person who brought (the food) over got frightened because someone appeared from darkness ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.
318	Yumi	Then why not ask that person or the hotel (for help)?
319	Teruyo	Ha ha well he couldn't speak English so....
320		(0.5)
321	Yumi	He could have done his best by saying "key".
322	Teruyo	A ha ha.
323	Yumi	Or (by saying) "my friend is gone".
324	Teruyo	Ha.
325		(1.4)
326	Teruyo	Well, that's what happened.
327	Yumi	I see.
328	Teruyo	Yeah.
((tape turned off))		

- Abstract/Orientation

The story arose out of the task of telling stories. Teruyo begins to tell a story and foreshadows its theme with an abstract in line 17. Teruyo introduces the principal character of the story (the Thai tour guide) whom she met during her first visit to Thailand (lines 20-21a, 23, 30-31a-32a). What Teruyo thought about the tour guide is revealed in evaluation in lines 38 and 40. Basically, she thought he was great.

- Orientation

The subsequent orientation sets up background as to what the text is going to be about. Teruyo describes the circumstances leading up to her second visit to Phuket in lines 42-43a, 45, 49, 51, 54 and 56. Teruyo connects these circumstances to evaluation in line 58 where she explains the motivations for meeting up with the tour guide. She thought it would be a good idea to go to Phuket along the way during her visit to Singapore.

- Complicating actions

In lines 60, 63 and 65, Teruyo begins to provide a description of the scene in which she tries to meet up with the tour guide. She cannot find him in his office.

- Complicating actions

Lines 67, 69, 71, 74, 76 and 77-78a represent a scene in which Teruyo meets up with the tour guide for the first time. They go out and have a good time. There is little in the way of evaluative commentary in these sequential groupings of events which suggests that the highlights are forthcoming later in the text. Teruyo then inserts situational information (lines 80, 84). Teruyo provides evaluation in line 82, suggesting that everything was okay the first time when the man had a company car. It appears that the information that the man used his company car only the first time is crucial for understanding the development of the story. That is, the tour guide says he could not borrow the company car the second time, and tries to trick Teruyo into spending the night with him.

- Orientation/Complicating actions

Teruyo returns to the narration of orientation and begins to provide a description of the motorcycle in line 85, conveying its image by an accumulation of details from more than one angle. As can be seen from Yumi's assent in line 98, Teruyo's descriptive explanation seems to have been paid off. Teruyo then explains

in lines 101, 103 and 105 why her friend had to stay in the room. He had food poisoning. In lines 108, 110 and 112, Teruyo describes the scenes leading up to complicating actions. She and the tour guide go out for the second time. In this sequence, Teruyo draws attention to the detailed descriptions of the motorcycle in the orientation, giving significance to the following complicating actions. That is, it will become clear that the motorcycle plays a key role in the high point (crisis and climax) of the story.

- Complicating actions

The complicating actions (lines 115, 117) foreshadow the beginning of problematic and unpredictable actions that follow. Teruyo has an argument with the tour guide. In this portion of the narrative, Teruyo describes ongoing events (lines 123, 136-137a-138a, 141), projects locational information (lines 125, 130, 132, 134) and comments on the internal thought processes of herself (lines 119, 121, 127-128a, 144, 146-147a, 149, 150). She was disgusted by the fact that the tour guide had made a pass at her.

- Complicating actions

From line 152, Teruyo provides a description of the scene in which she attempts to free herself from the tour guide (lines 152, 153-154a, 157, 160, 162). Evaluation of this passage (line 164-166a) conveys a powerful indicator of internal psychological states. Teruyo then introduces temporal and locational information in lines 168, 170, 172 and 175. Situational information relocates the story in the geographical space. Teruyo now finds herself on a mountain between the hotel and the restaurant.

- Complicating actions

In line 179, Teruyo returns to the narration of complicating actions. What Teruyo does in this section is reconstruct the dialogue with the tour guide in direct reported speech. Direct speech involves quoting the actual words of the speaker. It could be argued that direct reported speech functions as a skilful strategy to promote authenticity in oral narrative, giving impact and immediacy to the quoted words. In this passage, one can see that the tour guide is being persistent.

- Complicating actions

Teruyo then explains that she attracted attention from locals while driving a motorcycle without a helmet (line 205). What she thought to herself at the time of the events is revealed in line 212.

- Complicating actions (crisis)

This section involves retelling of a crisis (lines 214, 223-224a, 226). The motorcycle stops. Teruyo jumps off the motorcycle. Teruyo gets excited as she describes the crisis in lines 223 and 226 (the transcript indicates loudness in speech). Teruyo also inserts locational information in lines 217, 219, 221, 228 and 230.

- Complicating actions (major climax)

In line 233, Teruyo begins to develop a major climax. She introduces a new character (a local man who happened to be on the scene) into the story (lines 233, 235) and reconstructs their talk (lines 237-239, 242). This is again realised through direct reported speech. Line 244 describes the man. In line 241, Teruyo provides evaluation and emphasises the unusual quality of the happenings. This is external evaluation where Teruyo attributes the evaluative remark to herself at the moment that the story happened. She was deeply touched by the man who came and rescued her.

- Complicating actions (minor climax)

What ensues is a minor climax. This section is interlaced with evaluation. These events are narrated in a factual manner: a shift in the action (lines 249, 251-252a), internal psychological states (lines 253-254a, 256), a dialogue between Teruyo and the man (lines 258-260, 262, 264), internal psychological states (line 265), the sequence of events leading to farewell (lines 267, 269, 271, 273-274, 276-277a), consequences of the events (lines 279, 281, 283-284, 286).

- Resolution

In line 288, Teruyo indicates that the story has a punch line. Teruyo arrives at the hotel and finds her friend in darkness (lines 290, 292, 294, 296-297). Teruyo unravels the puzzle surrounding the key (lines 299-300a, 302, 304, 306, 308, 309, 311). Teruyo explains that she inadvertently took the hotel key with her, forcing her friend to stay in the dark room for hours. Teruyo ties up loose ends, giving explanations about why previous actions were problematic. This part of the story is abundant in sound symbolism in the form of onomatopoeia and mimesis that describe the manner or looks of a situation (e.g. *GAA* in line 292, *GACCHAN* in line 299, *BAAN* in line 306).

- Coda

A coda (line 313) is added at the end to signal the end of the narrative. The coda refers back to the theme of the abstract and makes an overall statement about the text. Yumi's evaluation in line 315 leads Teruyo to disclose another episode (line 317). That is, Teruyo explains that her friend eventually got hungry and ordered a room service. Teruyo provides another coda (line 326) and brings the story to an end.

The structure of the story is represented as follows:

Table 4: *Thai tour guide* (J1)

Abstract	Something unusual happens every time Teruyo goes to Thailand.
Orientation	Teruyo visits Phuket with her friend for the second time; the Thai

	tour guide whom Teruyo met on her first trip to Phuket is not in the office; Teruyo hires a motorcycle; Teruyo's friend has food poisoning; Teruyo goes out for dinner with the tour guide twice.
Complicating actions	The tour guide makes advances to Teruyo; Teruyo drives the motorcycle.
Complicating actions (crisis)	Teruyo reaches the mountain; the motorcycle stops; Teruyo leaps off the motorcycle and holds it.
Complicating actions (major climax)	A man rescues Teruyo; Teruyo is deeply touched by the man's gesture.
Complicating actions (minor climax)	The man and Teruyo take a walk on the beach; the man asks for Teruyo's phone number.
Resolution	Teruyo manages to arrive at her hotel; Teruyo finds her friend in the pitch-dark room.
Coda	It ends as a funny story; that's what happened.

The *Thai tour guide* story has an abstract, orientation, complicating actions, resolution and coda. However, although the story has ongoing evaluations as needs be, it is lacking an explicit final evaluation on the part of the teller. It therefore appears as if the story conforms with the Labovian framework in broad terms, although the following discussion will show that the nature of the orientation also differs. According to Maynard, she suggested that the abstract, orientation and complicating actions are obligatory in Japanese stories while the other categories (resolution, evaluation and coda) are optional. Looking at *Thai tour guide*, the absence of evaluation supports Maynard's findings, while contradicting Labov's characterisation of obligatory/optional components. In what follows, I will focus on each component of the story which has a particular function in relation to the story as a whole (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 239-243).

The abstract in narratives functions as an indicator which signals that a story is about to be told and establishes the point of the text. In line 17, Teruyo signals that a story is about to be told when she says:

14	Teruyo	tai kana¿ mitaina.
15	Yumi	°un.°
16		(0.6)
17 →	Teruyo	ma: (.) maikai (.) ano (.) anyu:juaruna koto ga okotteru n [dakedo: ha ha ha ha.
18	Yumi	[a ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.
19		(0.8)
20	Teruyo	sono ↑ne, nanka (1.8) saisho ni: (.) itta toki ni::,
21	Yumi	°un.°
21a	Teruyo	itta toki¿ ni: sugoi yoku shitekureta: tsuaagaido-san ga ite::.
22	Yumi	°un.°

★English translation

14	Teruyo	So Thailand it is.
15	Yumi	Uh huh.
16		(0.6)
17	Teruyo	Well, every time I go there something unusual happens.
18	Yumi	A ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.
19		(0.8)
20	Teruyo	Well, when I went there for the first time,
21	Yumi	Uh huh.
21a	Teruyo	I had a tour guide who did so much for me.
22	Yumi	Uh huh.

Line 17 functions as the abstract of the story. It sets up expectations as to what the text is going to be about by naming the activity sequence that is going to be problematised (i.e. having an unusual experience (in Thailand)).

The orientation section of a narrative orients the listeners to what is to follow. There are two noticeable features of the orientation in *Thai tour guide*:

1. the initial orientation is detailed;

2. there are many ongoing orientations, some of which are detailed.

Firstly, in the initial orientation, Teruyo provides detailed background information as to her second visit to Phuket:

20	Teruyo	sono ↑ne, nanka (1.8) saisho ni: (.) itta toki ni::,
21	Yumi	°un.°
21a	Teruyo	itta toki¿ ni: sugoi yoku shitekureta: tsuaagaido-san ga ite::.
22	Yumi	°un.°
23	Teruyo	taijin no¿
24	Yumi	°un.°
((31 lines of transcription omitted))		
56	Teruyo	de sore ga atashi nikaime ↓de.
57		(.)
58	Teruyo	de:, ja i↑ku n dattara: (.) sono:: (.) ne¿, tsuaagaido-san ni °mo° AITAI jan, te yuu yoona hanashi de::.
59	Yumi	°hun hun hun.°

```
★English translation
20      Teruyo          Well, when I went there for the first time,
21      Yumi            Uh huh.
21a     Teruyo          I had a tour guide who did so much for me.
22      Yumi            Uh huh.
23      Teruyo          A Thai tour guide.
24      Yumi            Uh huh.
((31 lines of transcription omitted))
56      Teruyo          And that was my second visit (to Thailand).
57                      (.)
58      Teruyo          And so if I'm going there, that... you know, I want to meet
                        up with that tour guide.
59      Yumi            Hum hum hum.
```

This section consists of 12 TCUs (lines 20-21a, 23, 30-31a-32a, 38, 40, 42-43a, 45, 49, 51, 54, 56, 58). Here Teruyo is describing in detail the circumstances which resulted in her second visit to Phuket.

Teruyo also inserts orientative information throughout the narrative. Tannen (1989) maintains that details bring the story to life. In other words, details provide a sense of authenticity, both by testifying that the speaker recalls them and by naming recognisable people, places and activities (p. 140). Here is an example of a detailed ongoing orientation in which Teruyo identifies the motorcycle from various angles (lines 85-99). A description of an object such as a motorcycle belongs to a category of orientative information (Peterson and McCabe, 1983: 33, 221).

```
85      Teruyo          de: (.) atashi ga choodo (.) koo rentaru baiku o kariteta
                        wake:.
86      Teruyo          a:no:: nihon de yuu nan te yuu no?
87      Yumi            gencha?
88      Teruyo          sobaya no (.) ano suupaakabu:¿
89                      (0.9)
90      Yumi            °un hun hun [hun hun.°
91      Teruyo                      [a- ano midoriiro no yatsu an jan.
92      Teruyo          >shinbunhaitatsu toka de yoku tsukatteru yatsu.<
93      Yumi            °un hun hun [hun hun.°
94      Teruyo                      [gencha da- demo chotto gia ga tsuiteru yatsu¿
95                      (1.8)
96      Yumi            ano::: (2.2) un.
97      Teruyo          un.
98      Yumi            nantonaku.
99      Teruyo          mukashi no ne¿

★English translation
85      Teruyo          And... I had hired a motorcycle.
86      Teruyo          Uhm... what do we call it in Japan?
87      Yumi            A moped?
88      Teruyo          It's the kind of motorcycle used by noodle restaurants.  It
                        looks like a Honda Super Kabu.
89                      (0.9)
90      Yumi            Uh huh, hum hum hum hum.
91      Teruyo          You know the green one.
92      Teruyo          It's used by newspaper delivery people.
```

93	Yumi	Uh huh hum hum hum hum.
94	Yumi	It's like a moped with gears.
95		(1.8)
96	Yumi	Uhm... uh huh.
97	Teruyo	Yeah.
98	Yumi	I can sort of get the picture.
99	Teruyo	The old-fashioned one.

This section consists of seven TCUs (lines 85, 86, 88, 91, 92, 94, 99). By depicting its specific make, model and colour, Teruyo gives the audience a more concrete image of the motorcycle she hired in Phuket. It is worthwhile to note here that Teruyo thinks the motorcycle resembles a commercial Honda Super Kabu (line 88), which is designed to enable efficient delivery of mail, newspapers and buckwheat noodles. It would be difficult for a person to manage this type of vehicle on the mountain. As the complicating actions show, the motorcycle stops unexpectedly (line 224a) and forces Teruyo to jump off (line 226).

223	Teruyo	soko wa watashi wa tabun (0.5) sansoku gurai de hashitteta ka[ra:::,
224	Yumi	[oo::: sorya ensuto [daroo.
224a →	Teruyo	[a ha ha TOMACCHATTE::.
225		(0.5)
226 →	Teruyo	A- (.) YABAI (0.7) tte GAA tte tobiorite::, koo sasaeta n dakedo::, dokomo hurattona tokoro ga nai kara:, moo nanka (0.3) konomama (.) kono jootai (.) do- doo shiyoo::.
★English translation		
223	Teruyo	I was probably driving there putting the motorcycle in third so
224	Yumi	Oh, that will cause your engine to stall.
224a	Teruyo	a ha ha it ended up stopping.
225		(0.5)
226	Teruyo	(I thought) this is bad and I jumped off the motorcycle and held it like this but there is no flat area anywhere so... like... what should I do with this mess.

Thus it would be reasonable to suggest that a detailed physical description of the motorcycle fairly early on in the story enables Teruyo to have the ensuing complicating actions appreciated properly by the audience.

The complicating action section may involve a problem culminating in a crisis/climax. Semantically, the complicating actions involve a disruption to the usual

sequence of events and in this way the actions that follow become problematic and unpredictable. The unexpected change in the usual sequence of events is indicated by Teruyo saying: *and then we got into an argument* (line 115), which then culminates in the crisis, *it (the motorcycle) ended up stopping* (line 224a).

```
110     Teruyo          de hutaride gohan tabe ni itte:.
111     Yumi            °un.°
112     Teruyo          de nomi ni itte:.
113     Yumi            °un.°
114                     (0.4)
115 →   Teruyo          shitara soko de koo (.) iiai ni natta wake.
116                     (0.4)
117     Teruyo          de nanka (1.4) "kyoo wa isshoni imashoo" mitaina koto
                        iwarete:.
118     Yumi            °un.°
119     Teruyo          de tondemonai toka omotte::.
120     Yumi            °un.°

★English translation
110     Teruyo          And the two of us went out and had dinner.
111     Yumi            Uh huh.
112     Teruyo          And we had drinks.
113     Yumi            Uh huh.
114                     (0.4)
115     Teruyo          And then there we got into an argument.
116                     (0.4)
117     Teruyo          And like... he said to me "we should be together today".
118     Yumi            Uh huh.
119     Teruyo          And I thought no way.
120     Yumi            Uh huh.

((lines deleted))

223     Teruyo          soko wa watashi wa tabun (0.5) sansoku gurai de hashitteta
                        ka[ra:::,
224     Yumi              [oo::: sorya ensuto [daroo.
224a →  Teruyo                              [a ha ha TOMACCHATTE::.
225                     (0.5)
226     Teruyo          A- (.) YABAI (0.7) tte GAA tte tobiorite::, koo sasaeta n
                        dakedo::, dokomo hurattona tokoro ga nai kara:, moo nanka
                        (0.3) konomama (.) kono jootai (.) do- doo shiyoo::.

★English translation
223     Teruyo          I was probably driving there putting the motorcycle in third so
224     Yumi            Oh, that will cause your engine to stall.
224a    Teruyo          a ha ha it ended up stopping.
225                     (0.5)
226     Teruyo          (I thought) this is bad and I jumped off the motorcycle and
                        held it like this but there is no flat area anywhere so...
                        like... what should I do with this mess.
```

Following the crisis, the major climax is indicated by Teruyo saying: *and as I was about to burst into tears, someone who happened to be driving ahead of me... like... came towards me* (line 233), something one does in a crisis, which then unfolds into the minor climax, *and then... like... then he stopped* (line 249).

228 Teruyo °kuraishi:, yama dashi:, kowaishi:° [mitaina.
229 Yumi [°ha ha.°
230 Teruyo moo ENJIN no kakekata sura mo yoku wakan↑nai.
231 Yumi °u:::n.°
232 (0.3)
233 → Teruyo de nakisoo ni nattetara tamatama atashi no mae o hashitteta hito ↑ga::, nanka (0.7) kitekure[te:::.
234 Yumi [°u::n.°
235 Teruyo de:: (.) nanka (.) chanto enjin toka zenbu kaketekurete::¿
236 (0.4)
((10 lines of transcription omitted))
247 Teruyo demo koo mo- toriaezu yokatta koredе kaereru yo: toka omotte zuutto tsuite hashittete:::.
248 (0.6)
249 → Teruyo soide::, nanka ((clears throat)) (0.8) shitara KARE ga koo TOMATTA wake:.
250 Yumi °u:::n.°
251 Teruyo de ya- a koko ka yatto tsuita yo toka omottara:, nanka (0.8) "sanposhiyoo ze" mitaina, ["hamabe o sanposhiyoo ze" mitaina,
252 Yumi [a ha.
252a Teruyo e he he.

★English translation
228 Teruyo Like it's dark, I'm on a mountain and scared.
229 Yumi Ha ha.
230 Teruyo I don't even know how to start the engine.
231 Yumi Uh huh.
232 (0.3)
233 Teruyo And as I was about to burst into tears, someone who happened to be driving ahead of me... like... came towards me.
234 Yumi Uh huh.
235 Teruyo And... like... he started the engine and everything for me.
236 (0.4)
((10 lines of transcription omitted))
247 Teruyo But, like... for the time being I thought I could go back (to my hotel) now and I kept driving.
248 (0.6)
249 Teruyo And then... like... then he stopped.
250 Yumi Uh huh.
251 Teruyo And when I thought I finally arrived (at my hotel) he said "let's take a walk", like "let's take a walk on the beach",
252 Yumi Ha ha.
252a Teruyo e he he.

The resolution section of a narrative explains how the protagonist manages to resolve the crisis. In *Thai tour guide*, the resolution occurs after the complicating actions.

283 Teruyo .hh shitara mata juppun go gurai ni buu toka itte modottekitekurete::::.
284 Teruyo enjin dake koo kaketekurete::.
285 Yumi °u::n.°
286 Teruyo °"doomo arigatoo" tte kanji de::.°
287 Yumi °sono toki ni sassato kakete (.) satteike yo tte kanji da yo ne.°
288 → Teruyo de::, sono ochi wa::.
289 (0.5)
290 Teruyo de toriaezu (.) tadoritsuita wake hoteru ni.
291 (0.4)
292 Teruyo "YA:TTO tsuita yo" toka omotte "hayaku kono koto o tomodachi ni shaberitai" toka omotte, .hh GAA tte heya made itte:, GAA tte aketara:, MAKKURA na no::.
293 (1.0)

```
★English translation
283     Teruyo          Then after ten minutes he came back.
284     Teruyo          He started the engine for me.
285     Yumi            Uh huh.
286     Teruyo          I said "thank you very much".
287     Yumi            He should have started (the engine) and left in the first
                        place, don't you think?
288     Teruyo          And... the punch line of the story is....
289                     (0.5)
290     Teruyo          And I managed to arrive at my hotel.
291                     (0.4)
292     Teruyo          I thought "I've arrived at my hotel at last" and "I want to
                        share this thing with my friend", I rushed to my room, and
                        when I opened the door it was pitch-dark.
293                     (1.0)
```

This section of the text is where normality is restored (line 288).

In terms of the evaluation, however, the picture is a bit more complicated. In Labov's words, evaluation is "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its raison d'être: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at" (Labov, 1972: 366). From Labov's perspective, then, it is expected that the narrator would be explicit about the point of the story. In *Thai tour guide*, the teller frequently intersperses evaluative remarks throughout the narrative, most of which are simple external evaluations. The following is an example of an ongoing evaluation which occurs within the complicating actions.

```
237     Teruyo          de "doko made iku no:" tsutte.
238     Teruyo          "°iya: patonbiichi made ikitai n da ne.°"
239     Teruyo          "JAA ano, °boku ga, mae o hashitteageru ka↑ra::, ja ushironi
                        tottsuiteoide" toka itte.°
240     Yumi            °u::n.°
241 →   Teruyo          de moo SUGGOI kandooshite::.
242     Teruyo          .h nan- "suggoi arigatoo" °tsu[tte.°
243     Yumi                                          [°u::n.°
244     Teruyo          demo nanka (0.6) KARE wa (.) hontoni (.) >nihongo mo
                        shaberenaishi eego mo sha- hotondo< shaberenakutte::, anmari
                        (.) umaku (.) komyunikeeshon torena↑i.
245     Yumi            °u::n.°
246                     (1.4)

★English translation
237     Teruyo          And he said "where are you headed to?"
238     Teruyo          (He said) "so you want to go to Patong Beach".
239     Teruyo          He said "then uhm... I will go ahead of you... and you follow
                        me".
240     Yumi            Uh huh.
241     Teruyo          And I was deeply touched by that.
242     Teruyo          I said "thank you very much".
243     Yumi            Uh huh.
244     Teruyo          But, like... he can't really speak Japanese and he can hardly
                        speak English so we can't communicate with each other very
                        well.
```

```
245     Yumi            Uh huh.
246                     (1.4)
```

Here Teruyo focuses on her emotional experience, confirming the man's gesture as remarkable by saying *I was deeply touched by that* (line 241). With the change of focus from ideational to evaluative meanings, the evaluation is like an insertion sequence within the complicating actions.

It seems, however, that there is no explicit final evaluation directly relevant to the specific events/actions described in the story, i.e. the bad thing happening to Teruyo's friend. The consequence of the lack of explicit final evaluation in Teruyo's story is that the listener does more work in order to fill in the missing evaluation.

```
309     Teruyo          .hh de atashi wa atashi de sooyuu hitoride wake wakannai koto
                        yattete::.
310                     (1.2)
311     Teruyo          .hh "omae yoku kaettekoreta naa" toka itte.
312                     (0.4)
313 →   Teruyo          sore wa waraibanashi de owatta n dakedo.
314                     (0.5)
315     Yumi            kawaisoo kare.
316     Teruyo          a ha ha.
317     Teruyo          .hhh nanka (0.4) amarinimo onaka ga suite ruumusaabisu o
                        totta rashii n dakedo::, .h mottekita hito mo bikkurishite::,
                        >makkura no naka kara hito ga detekita kara:< °ha ha ha
                        [ha ha ha ha ha ha.°
318     Yumi            [e ja: tanomeba ii jan SONO HITO NI: HOTERU NI::::.
319     Teruyo          .hhh ha ha .hh iya kare mo eego ga dekinai hito datta kara
                        °nanka.°
320                     (0.5)
321     Yumi            ganbaroo yo:, KII toka[:::.
322     Teruyo                                [a ha ha.
323     Yumi            tomodachi itta toka:.
324     Teruyo          ha::.
325                     (1.4)
326 →   Teruyo          ma sooyuu koto ga atta wake de::.
327     Yumi            naruho[do ne:::.
328     Teruyo                [ee::::.
((tape turned off))

★English translation
309     Teruyo          And I was doing all those incomprehensible things the whole
                        time.
310                     (1.2)
311     Teruyo          He said "I'm amazed that you returned safely".
312                     (0.4)
313     Teruyo          It ended as a funny story but.
314                     (0.5)
315     Yumi            Poor guy.
316     Teruyo          A ha ha.
317     Teruyo          Like... he got so hungry that he had room service but the
                        person who brought (the food) over got frightened because
                        someone appeared from darkness ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.
318     Yumi            Then why not ask that person or the hotel (for help)?
319     Teruyo          Ha ha well he couldn't speak English so....
320                     (0.5)
321     Yumi            He could have done his best by saying "key".
```

```
322     Teruyo          A ha ha.
323     Yumi            Or (by saying) "my friend is gone".
324     Teruyo          Ha.
325                     (1.4)
326     Teruyo          Well, that's what happened.
327     Yumi            I see.
328     Teruyo          Yeah.
((tape turned off))
```

Here Teruyo explains that she was doing incomprehensible things when her friend was having a rough time (line 309). She then produces a coda in line 313. The coda often refers back to the theme of the abstract, and makes an overall statement about the text. This is done in line 313 with the narrator saying *it ended as a funny story*. One of the functions of the coda is to return the text to the present and by doing so to evaluate the whole event. Teruyo's statement in line 313 clearly resembles a coda and therefore is not an evaluation as such (Toolan, 1988: 162). The coda (line 313) is evaluative in terms of the story as a whole, but not in terms of one of the main characters of the story (Teruyo's friend).

When Teruyo finishes her story with a coda *it ended as a funny story* in line 313, Yumi, the listener, comes in and says *poor guy* in line 315 and evaluates the difficulties Teruyo's friend must have gone through. In fact, Yumi is emphasising the evaluation of the character in the story. Teruyo laughs (line 316) and acknowledges what Yumi has said with an additional episode (line 317). While Teruyo comments on the relevance of the narrative to the broader social context (line 313), Yumi focuses on the specific point of the narrative, with the result that evaluative meanings of the situation are interactively produced. Evaluation does not come out spontaneously; it has to be interactively produced. Teruyo produces another coda *well, that's what happened* in line 326, and Yumi's closing utterance *I see* (line 327) marks the end of the story because there is no more story after that. Therefore, both teller and listener recognise and treat it as end of story.

The above discussion suggests that the teller is adopting a kind of "recipient prompted evaluations". This means that the narrator interacts with the recipient in order to give a clear picture of the narrative, and lets the recipient to infer the evaluation from the given background information. Although evaluation does not come out spontaneously and has to be interactively achieved, it seems that the lacking evaluation can be compensated for by detailed orientations as well as ongoing evaluations. This means that the point of the story should be obvious to the recipient by the end of the story through an accumulation of orientative information as well as ongoing evaluations that capture the narrator's emotional experience throughout the narrative (e.g. *I was deeply touched by that* in line 241). With regard to detailed orientations, Tannen (1989: 137-138) suggests that details in a story provide internal evaluation and lead hearers to draw the conclusion favoured by the speaker. It appears as though the teller makes evaluative points using detailed orientations, and expects the hearer to infer the final evaluation from the given background information. In line with the observation that evaluative material is frequently spread throughout the narrative, it seems reasonable to conclude that the teller therefore embeds the evaluation within the narrative itself through ongoing orientations as well as evaluative remarks throughout the narrative.

Therefore, this story fits the Labovian framework, although a final evaluation is prompted by the recipient. However, the lack of evaluation is consistent with Maynard's study which suggests that, in conversational Japanese narratives, evaluation has to be interactionally recognised if it does not occur on the part of the teller.

2.4.3 India-Pakistan war (J3)

In the second instance to be examined, the speaker gives the recipient an account of something that happened to her in India, when she was a student and in community activities.

1	Shun	ee:::tto ano::: (.) MAE:: (.) e: indo ni: (.) irashita to iu hanashi o ukagatta n desu [ga:.
2	Yoko	[ee.
3	Shun	itsu goro deshita ka sore wa.
4	Yoko	MOO sore koso (.) sanjuunen gurai mae daroo to omoimasu ne:.
5	Yoko	choodo:: ano::: (.) indo to pakisutan ga:, saishoni ano: (.) <sensoo hajime[ta: (.) koro deshita node.>
6	Shun	[hoo:::, °taihenna toko deshita [ne.°
7	Yoko	[ee.=
8	Shun	=ee.=
9	Yoko	=ee.
10		(0.5)
11	Shun	mata- (.) dooyuu kikkake de:: indo ni irashita n desu ka?
Orientation		
12	Yoko	e, ↑indo ni itta no wa: (.) tamatama sono::::: (.) ee::: nan desu ka ima no: ano:::: heewabutai no (0.5) morumotto mitaina kata[chi de] okuridasareta n [desu keredomo.
13	Shun	[°hoo hoo hoo.°] [ee ee ee.
14	Yoko	.h de::::: (.) zenzen: (.) ano::: (0.6) nani o shitemo ii to yuu node:,
15	Shun	ee.
15a	Yoko	jusshuukan oshietara moo sassato nishuukan ryokoosuru to yuu [katachi de.
16	Shun	[haa haa.
17	Shun	ee.
18	Yoko	.h tamatama: (.) sono::: sono nishuukan ni:, ee::::: shiriai no hito o tazunete, ↑ahuganisutan ni ikoo to [omotta n desu ↑ne.
19	Shun	[hoo.
20	Yoko	.h de: chotto: (.) mada (.) gakusee ni ke ga haeta gurai no shuunyuu shika nakatta node:,
21	Shun	ee.
21a	Yoko	ee:::: (.) sono::: (.) hikooki de massugu tobu no wa chotto takakatta node,
22	Shun	ee.
22a	Yoko	girigiri indo no kokkyoo no ↑amuritsa to iu ma[chi made
23	Shun	[ee ee.
23a	Yoko	itte, soko kara: ahuganisutan ni- no: ano: shuto no kabuuru made [dake toboo.
24	Shun	[ee.
25	Yoko	sore dato kanari yasukatta [node.
26	Shun	[ee ee.
27		(0.4)
Complicating actions		
28	Yoko	ee:::: (.) derii no taishikan no hito ni aisatsushite, nokonoko h- kisha ni notte itta n de[su ↑ne.
29	Shun	[ee.
30	Yoko	de kisha wa nanka: .h (.) ee::: nisanjikan (.) toka shigojikan okureru no wa (.) maa indo dewa atarima[e desu node:.
31	Shun	[ee.
32	Yoko	nandaka: (.) sorenishitemo chotto zuibun (.) yotee yori okureru naa to omotte.
33	Yoko	[<tsuite.>
34	Shun	[ee.
35	Yoko	naze (.) so- shinpaishita ka tte yuu to sono: amuritsa ni iku (.) amuritsa kara sono kabuuru ni iku hikooki ni OKURERU n ja-[nai ka to omotte.
36	Shun	[°soo desu ne, ee ee.°
37	Yoko	.hh ano shinpaishite.
Complicating actions		
38	Yoko	ano eki ni orite sugu (.) ee::: takushii o yatotte patto (.) [kuukoo ni ittekure tte ittara, .hhh <kuukoo ni iku tochuu
39	Shun	[ee.

39a	Yoko	kara (.) nanika yoosu ga okashikuna[tte.>
40	Shun	[haa haa.
41		(0.8)
42	Yoko	<nanka (.) mekakushisarete> (.) koo te o ushironi koo yarareta hito ka nanka ga nannin ka hikareteiku ↓kara "nan[da::" °tte yutte.°
43	Shun	[haa:.
Complicating actions (crisis)		
44	Yoko	.hh de soshite hikoojoo ni tsuitara hikooki no kage mo katachi mo nai n [desu ne.
45	Shun	[hoo::.
Complicating actions (climax)		
46	Yoko	da: moo icchatta no ka to omotta[ra:, .hh hikoojoo no hito ga
47	Shun	[ee.
47a	Yoko	"omae shiranai no ka, i[ma pakisutan sensooshite (.)
48	Shun	[ee.
48a	Yoko	[hikoo]ki no (.) tobu dokoro no hanashi [ja-nai" to iwarete.
49	Shun	[ee.] [haa haa haa.
50	Shun	°ee.°
51	Yoko	sorede shooganai kara:, ano::::: amuritsa no (.) a- naka no: (.) hoteru ni: (0.6) modorimashite.=
52	Shun	=ee.
53		(1.3)
54	Yoko	ee:: dooshiyoo ka to omotta n desu ga:.
55		(1.7)
56	Yoko	moo (0.3) gasorin mo zenbu tooseesarete[rushi:,
57	Shun	[aa:::.
57a	Yoko	ano: (.) kisha no kippu mo zenbu tooseesaretete,=
58	Shun	=°ee ee.°=
58a	Yoko	=iku- ↑doko ni mo ikenakunatte[shimatta n desu ↑ne.
59	Shun	[°deshoo ne:, u:n.°
Resolution/Evaluation		
60	Yoko	sorede: ano: (0.4) kekkyoku wa: (.) saishuuteki ni wa indo no taishikan: (.) ga (.) ano::: (.) kyuuen no kuruma o shitatete,
61	Shun	°hoo [hoo.°
61a	Yoko	[mukaenikuru made,
62	Shun	°hoo hoo.°
63		(0.3)
63a	Yoko	sono [dondon pachipachi no (.) sono:: (1.0) batorufiirudo no
64	Shun	[((coughs))
64a	Yoko	sugu waki de,
65	Shun	ee:.
66		(0.5)
66a	Yoko	ano::: (.) kekkoo tanoshiku sugoshimashita kere[do ha ha.
67	Shun	[°>soo na n desu ka.<° sorede ano::: otomarininatta hoteru ka nanka de: (.) sono amuritsa no:....

((the first story is over))

★English translation

1	Shun	Uhm... I've heard that you were in India some time ago.
2	Yoko	Yeah.
3	Shun	When was that?
4	Yoko	Well I think it was about thirty years ago.
5	Yoko	Uhm... it was just at the time when India and Pakistan went to war.
6	Shun	Oh, that was a terrible time, wasn't it?
7	Yoko	Yeah.
8	Shun	Uh huh.
9	Yoko	Yeah.
10		(0.5)
11	Shun	How come you went to India?
Orientation		
12	Yoko	Uhm I was sent to India as... uhm... what do you call it now... a kind of guinea pig of the Peace Corps.
13	Shun	Oh. Uh huh.
14	Yoko	And... they say I'm free to do anything so
15	Shun	Uh huh.
15a	Yoko	I teach for ten weeks and travel for two weeks.
16	Shun	Hmm.
17	Shun	Uh huh.
18	Yoko	I thought I'd visit an acquaintance of mine in Afghanistan during those two weeks, you know.
19	Shun	Oh.
20	Yoko	And... since I had an income little better than that of a student,
21	Shun	Uh huh.
21a	Yoko	uhm... well... because it was a bit expensive to fly directly

		(to Afghanistan),
22	Shun	Uh huh.
22a	Yoko	I thought I would go to a town called Amritsar right near the border of India,
23	Shun	Uh huh.
23a	Yoko	and fly to the uhm... Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, from there.
24	Shun	Uh huh.
25	Yoko	That way it was quite cheap.
26	Shun	Uh huh.
27		(0.4)
Complicating actions		
28	Yoko	Uhm... I went to pay my respects to the embassy staff in Delhi and then took a train nonchalantly, you know.
29	Shun	Uh huh.
30	Yoko	And the trains in India... like... delays of up to two to three hours or four to five hours are usual so....
31	Shun	Uh huh.
32	Yoko	But even so I thought the train was way too behind the timetable.
33	Yoko	And I arrived.
34	Shun	Uh huh.
35	Yoko	The reason why I was so worried is because I thought I'd miss the plane from Amritsar to Kabul.
36	Shun	That's right, uh huh.
37	Yoko	Uhm... I felt anxious.
Complicating actions		
38	Yoko	And uhm... I stepped on the station and uhm... caught a taxi at once and told (the taxi driver) to go to the airport and
39	Shun	Uh huh.
39a	Yoko	on the way to the airport... things started looking strange and....
40	Shun	Hmm.
41		(0.8)
42	Yoko	Like... some men who were being blindfolded and their hands sort of being tied at the back were being taken so I said "what's going on?"
43	Shun	Hmm.
Complicating actions (crisis)		
44	Yoko	And then when I got to the airport there was no sign of an aircraft, you know.
45	Shun	Oh.
Complicating actions (climax)		
46	Yoko	And... when I thought the planes had already taken off
47	Shun	Uh huh.
47a	Yoko	someone at the airport said "don't you know... now Pakistan (and India) are at war and
48	Shun	Uh huh.
48a	Yoko	there is no way planes can take off under these conditions".
49	Shun	Uh huh. Hmm hmm hmm.
50	Shun	Uh huh.
51	Yoko	And then uhm... there was nothing I could do so I returned to a hotel in Amritsar.
52	Shun	Uh huh.
53		(1.3)
54	Yoko	Uhm... I thought what should I do but....
55		(1.7)
56	Yoko	Well... oil is under government control and...
57	Shun	Ah.
57a	Yoko	uhm train tickets are also under government control and...
58	Shun	Uh huh.
58a	Yoko	I ended up not being able to go anywhere.
59	Shun	I'm sure, uh huh.
Resolution/Evaluation		
60	Yoko	And then... uhm... in the end... uhm... until the Indian Embassy got a rescue car ready
61	Shun	Oh.
61a	Yoko	and picked me up
62	Shun	Oh.
63		(0.3)
63a	Yoko	uhm... at the side of
64	Shun	((coughs))
64a	Yoko	that bang bang battlefield,
65	Shun	Uh huh.
66		(0.5)
66a	Yoko	uhm... I spent quite an enjoyable time ha ha.
67	Shun	Right. And then uhm... in the hotel where you were staying... in Amritsar....
((the first story is over))		

- Orientation

The situation was set up for a story to emerge. Shun elicits a story about India by asking Yoko a question (line 11). Yoko begins her story by setting the background for the narrative events. That is, Yoko responds to Shun's question and describes the circumstances in which a visit to India occurred (line 12). Yoko then provides information pertinent to her visit to India (line 18). In essence, she is a Japanese language instructor in India and decides to visit her friend in Afghanistan on a holiday. Yoko then zooms in on an initial problem with the addition of orientation in lines 20-21a-22a-23a and 25. Because she does not have much money as a student, she decides to take a train halfway.

- Complicating actions

Line 28 expresses a series of connected events. Yoko takes a train bound for Amritsar. Line 30 is general background information highlighting the episode. Lines 32, 35, 37 correspond to Yoko's external evaluations about the events. She is worried about the train's delay.

- Complicating actions

Yoko returns to the description of complicating actions occurring after the train scene in lines 38-39a and 42. There is a particular focus on the war milieu. She takes a taxi in a hurry to get to the airport and notices the strange atmosphere of the city.

- Complicating actions (crisis)

Line 44 is best characterised as a crisis. Negation in line 44 informs the listener of general expectations that were held but not met in the situation (Peterson

and McCabe, 1983: 223). Yoko adopts an eyewitness perspective in which she details what she sees, that is, she cannot find any aircraft at the airport.

- Complicating actions (climax)

Lines 46-47a-48a represent a climax. Here Yoko discovers from airport staff that a war has broken out between Pakistan and India. Direct reported speech in line 46 heightens authenticity. Yoko shifts to the narration of the scene occurring after the taxi scene in line 51. She has no choice but to return to a hotel in Amritsar. Yoko makes reference to external evaluation in line 54 as well as general conditions (government regulations) prevailing at the time of the narrated events (line 56-57a-58a).

- Resolution/Evaluation

Yoko explains that she waits for embassy staff at the side of the battlefield (line 60-61a-63a-66a). This statement constitutes external evaluation of her experience, i.e. she says she had a good time despite the circumstances.

The structure of the story is represented as follows:

Table 5: *India-Pakistan war* (J3)

Orientation	Yoko teaches Japanese in India; Yoko decides to visit her friend in Afghanistan on a holiday; Yoko has little money as a student; the train is less costly.
Complicating actions	The train is behind the schedule; Yoko takes a taxi to the airport; there is a war milieu.
Complicating actions (crisis)	There is no sign of aircraft in the airport.
Complicating actions (climax)	Yoko learns that Pakistan and India are at war; Yoko returns to the hotel in Amritsar and thinks about what to do.
Resolution/ Evaluation	Yoko is restricted by the government control; Yoko spends an enjoyable time at the side of the battlefield until the Indian Embassy gets a rescue car ready and picks her up.

The *India-Pakistan war* story is chronological and has all the components which Labov finds obligatory in a narrative, i.e. orientation, complicating actions, resolution and evaluation. The story has no abstract and coda. Labov states that the abstract and the coda are optional components: they are not essential to the production of a well-formed narrative. Thus the story conforms with the Labovian framework, while contradicting Maynard's characterisation of obligatory/optional components.

The story begins with an orientation where Yoko orients the listener in respect to place, time and behavioural situation. In *India-Pakistan war*, there is a detailed initial orientation as well as some ongoing orientations. Firstly, in the initial orientation, Yoko explains the contexts in some detail.

12	Yoko	e, ↑indo ni itta no wa: (.) tamatama sono::::: (.) ee::: nan desu ka ima no: ano:::: heewabutai no (0.5) morumotto mitaina kata[chi de] okuridasareta n [desu keredomo.
13	Shun	[°hoo hoo hoo.°] [ee ee ee.
14	Yoko	.h de::::: (.) zenzen: (.) ano::: (0.6) nani o shitemo ii to yuu node:,
15	Shun	ee.
15a	Yoko	jusshuukan oshietara moo sassato nishuukan ryokoosuru to yuu [katachi de.
16	Shun	[haa haa.
17	Shun	ee.
18	Yoko	.h tamatama: (.) sono::: sono nishuukan ni:, ee::::: shiriai no hito o tazunete, ↑ahuganisutan ni ikoo to [omotta n desu ↑ne.
19	Shun	[hoo.
20	Yoko	.h de: chotto: (.) mada (.) gakusee ni ke ga haeta gurai no shuunyuu shika nakatta node:,
21	Shun	ee.
21a	Yoko	ee:::: (.) sono::: (.) hikooki de massugu tobu no wa chotto takakatta node,
22	Shun	ee.
22a	Yoko	girigiri indo no kokkyoo no ↑amuritsa to iu ma[chi made
23	Shun	[ee ee.
23a	Yoko	itte, soko kara: ahuganisutan ni- no: ano: shuto no kabuuru made [dake toboo.
24	Shun	[ee.
25	Yoko	sore dato kanari yasukatta [node.
26	Shun	[ee ee.

★English translation

12	Yoko	Uhm I was sent to India as... uhm... what do you call it now... a kind of guinea pig of the Peace Corps.
13	Shun	Oh. Uh huh.
14	Yoko	And... they say I'm free to do anything so
15	Shun	Uh huh.
15a	Yoko	I teach for ten weeks and travel for two weeks.
16	Shun	Hmm.
17	Shun	Uh huh.
18	Yoko	I thought I'd visit an acquaintance of mine in Afghanistan during those two weeks, you know.
19	Shun	Oh.
20	Yoko	And... since I had an income little better than that of a student,
21	Shun	Uh huh.

21a	Yoko	uhm... well... because it was a bit expensive to fly directly (to Afghanistan),
22	Shun	Uh huh.
22a	Yoko	I thought I would go to a town called Amritsar right near the border of India,
23	Shun	Uh huh.
23a	Yoko	and fly to the uhm... Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, from there.
24	Shun	Uh huh.
25	Yoko	That way it was quite cheap.
26	Shun	Uh huh.

Yoko begins her story by explaining her work conditions (lines 12, 14-15a). Her reason for visiting Afghanistan by train and plane is extensive because she explains she had a friend in Afghanistan (line 18), mentions she was a student with limited financial resources (line 20) and tells of her decision to save money by not flying directly to Afghanistan (lines 21a-22a-23a). It is observed that detailed accounts are included to provide the recipient with enough information so that the recipient could appreciate what went on at a certain point in the past.

There are many ongoing orientations in this story. Here is an example of an ongoing orientation.

54	Yoko	ee:: dooshiyoo ka to omotta n desu ga:.
55		(1.7)
56 →	Yoko	moo (0.3) gasorin mo zenbu tooseesarete[rushi:,
57	Shun	[aa:::.
57a →	Yoko	ano: (.) kisha no kippu mo zenbu tooseesaretete,=
58	Shun	=°ee ee.°=
58a →	Yoko	=iku- ↑doko ni mo ikenakunatte[shimatta n desu ↑ne.
59	Shun	[°deshoo ne:, u:n.°
★English translation		
54	Yoko	Uhm... I thought what should I do but....
55		(1.7)
56	Yoko	Well... oil is under government control and...
57	Shun	Ah.
57a	Yoko	uhm train tickets are also under government control and...
58	Shun	Uh huh.
58a	Yoko	I ended up not being able to go anywhere.
59	Shun	I'm sure, uh huh.

In lines 56-57a-58a, Yoko provides additional background information in order to create a whole picture of the situation. A description of what she saw adds to the realistic imagery of this terrifying event.

Yoko then presents temporally sequenced events, i.e. complicating actions.

35	Yoko	naze (.) so- shinpaishita ka tte yuu to sono: amuritsa ni iku (.) amuritsa kara sono kabuuru ni iku hikooki ni OKURERU n ja-[nai ka to omotte.
36	Shun	[°soo desu ne, ee ee.°
37	Yoko	.hh ano shinpaishite.
38 →	Yoko	ano eki ni orite sugu (.) ee::: takushii o yatotte patto (.) [kuukoo ni ittekure tte ittara, .hhh <kuukoo ni iku tochuu
39	Shun	[ee.
39a →	Yoko	kara (.) nanika yoosu ga okashikuna[tte.>
40	Shun	[haa haa.
41		(0.8)
42	Yoko	<nanka (.) mekakushisarete> (.) koo te o ushironi koo yarareta hito ka nanka ga nannin ka hikareteiku ↓kara "nan [da::" °tte yutte.°
43	Shun	[haa:.
44 →	Yoko	.hh de soshite hikoojoo ni tsuitara hikooki no kage mo katachi mo nai n [desu ne.
45	Shun	[hoo::.
46 →	Yoko	da: moo icchatta no ka to omotta[ra:, .hh hikoojoo no hito ga
47	Shun	[ee.
47a →	Yoko	"omae shiranai no ka, i[ma pakisutan sensooshite (.)
48	Shun	[ee.
48a →	Yoko	[hikoo]ki no (.) tobu dokoro no hanashi [ja-nai" to iwarete.
49	Shun	[ee.] [haa haa haa.
50	Shun	°ee.°
★English translation		
35	Yoko	The reason why I was so worried is because I thought I'd miss the plane from Amritsar to Kabul.
36	Shun	That's right, uh huh.
37	Yoko	Uhm... I felt anxious.
38	Yoko	And uhm... I stepped on the station and uhm... caught a taxi at once and told (the taxi driver) to go to the airport and
39	Shun	Uh huh.
39a	Yoko	on the way to the airport... things started looking strange and....
40	Shun	Hmm.
41		(0.8)
42	Yoko	Like... some men who were being blindfolded and their hands being tied at the back were being taken so I said "what's going on?"
43	Shun	Hmm.
44	Yoko	And then when I got to the airport there was no sign of an aircraft, you know.
45	Shun	Oh.
46	Yoko	And... when I thought the planes had already taken off
47	Shun	Uh huh.
47a	Yoko	someone at the airport said "don't you know... now Pakistan (and India) are at war and
48	Shun	Uh huh.
48a	Yoko	there is no way planes can take off under these conditions".
49	Shun	Uh huh. Hmm hmm hmm.
50	Shun	Uh huh.

Yoko first encounters a problem (lines 38-39a) in that things started to look strange. This culminates in the crisis (line 44) because everyone knows this is a bad thing, and the climax (lines 46-47a-48a) in which she learns that India and Pakistan are at war.

After the complicating actions, Yoko proceeds to the resolution section in which she shows how the protagonist's (Yoko's) actions resolve the crisis.

```
56      Yoko        moo (0.3) gasorin mo zenbu tooseesarete[rushi:,
57      Shun                                               [aa:::.
57a     Yoko        ano: (.) kisha no kippu mo zenbu tooseesaretete,=
58      Shun        =°ee ee.°=
58a     Yoko        =iku- ↑doko ni mo ikenakunatte[shimatta n desu ↑ne.
59      Shun                                      [°deshoo ne:, u:n.°
60 →    Yoko        sorede: ano: (0.4) kekkyoku wa: (.) saishuuteki ni wa indo no
                    taishikan: (.) ga (.) ano::: (.) kyuuen no kuruma o
                    shitatete,
61      Shun        °hoo [hoo.°
61a →   Yoko             [mukaenikuru made,
62      Shun        °hoo hoo.°
63                  (0.3)
63a →   Yoko        sono [dondon pachipachi no (.) sono:: (1.0) batorufiirudo no
64      Shun             [((coughs))
64a →   Yoko        sugu waki de,
65      Shun        ee:.
66                  (0.5)
66a →   Yoko        ano::: (.) kekkoo tanoshiku sugoshimashita kere[do ha ha.
67      Shun                                                       [°>soo na n
                    desu ka.<° sorede ano::: otomarininatta hoteru ka nanka de:
                    (.) sono amuritsa no:....
((the first story is over))

★English translation
56      Yoko        Well... oil is under government control and...
57      Shun        Ah.
57a     Yoko        uhm train tickets are also under government control and...
58      Shun        Uh huh.
58a     Yoko        I ended up not being able to go anywhere.
59      Shun        I'm sure, uh huh.
60      Yoko        And then... uhm... in the end... uhm... until the Indian
                    Embassy got a rescue car ready
61      Shun        Oh.
61a     Yoko        and picked me up
62      Shun        Oh.
63                  (0.3)
63a     Yoko        uhm... at the side of
64      Shun        ((coughs))
64a     Yoko        that bang bang battlefield,
65      Shun        Uh huh.
66                  (0.5)
66a     Yoko        uhm... I spent quite an enjoyable time ha ha.
67      Shun        Right.  And then uhm... in the hotel where you were
                    staying... in Amritsar....
((the first story is over))
```

In lines 60-61a-63a-64a-66a, Yoko explains what happened in the end. She was rescued by the Indian Embassy.

The purpose of the evaluation is to reveal the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative. *India-Pakistan war* is noteworthy in two respects:

1. the ongoing evaluations of the events are achieved through internal evaluation strategies;

2. there is an explicit final evaluation.

Firstly, Yoko does not explicitly evaluate her experience by saying, for example, "it was scary". Rather, she describes the war scene within the complicating action section with speaking slower (lines 38-39a, 42), which is important at this point in the story because it is a device for emphasising a part of a narrative.

```
35      Yoko        naze (.) so- shinpaishita ka tte yuu to sono: amuritsa ni iku
                    (.) amuritsa kara sono kabuuru ni iku hikooki ni OKURERU n
                    ja-[nai ka to omotte.
36      Shun           [°soo desu ne, ee ee.°
37      Yoko        .hh ano shinpaishite.
38 →    Yoko        ano eki ni orite sugu (.) ee::: takushii o yatotte patto (.)
                    [kuukoo ni ittekure tte ittara, .hhh <kuukoo ni iku tochuu
39      Shun        [ee.
39a →   Yoko        kara (.) nanika yoosu ga okashikuna[tte.>
40      Shun                                           [haa haa.
41                  (0.8)
42 →    Yoko        <nanka (.) mekakushisarete> (.) koo te o ushironi koo
                    yarareta hito ka nanka ga nannin ka hikareteiku ↓kara "nan
                    [da::" °tte yutte.°
43      Shun        [haa:.

★English translation
35      Yoko        The reason why I was so worried is because I thought I'd miss
                    the plane from Amritsar to Kabul.
36      Shun        That's right, uh huh.
37      Yoko        Uhm... I felt anxious.
38      Yoko        And uhm... I stepped on the station and uhm... caught a taxi
                    at once and told (the taxi driver) to go to the airport and
39      Shun        Uh huh.
39a     Yoko        on the way to the airport... things started looking strange
                    and....
40      Shun        Hmm.
41                  (0.8)
42      Yoko        Like... some men who were being blindfolded and their hands
                    sort of being tied at the back were being taken so I said
                    "what's going on?"
43      Shun        Hmm.
```

By using slow speech within the complicating actions, the teller's comments on the events in the story are built into the story. Labov has shown that highly skilled narrators are very good at translating personal experience into dramatic form, using such internal evaluation. In this sense, Yoko can be said to be a skilled narrator. Internal evaluation can also be accomplished in other ways. For example, the story is capped off by an evaluation accompanied by laughter (line 66a).

```
56      Yoko        moo (0.3) gasorin mo zenbu tooseesarete[rushi:,
57      Shun                                               [aa:::.
57a     Yoko        ano: (.) kisha no kippu mo zenbu tooseesaretete,=
58      Shun        =°ee ee.°=
```

```
58a     Yoko        =iku- ↑doko ni mo ikenakunatte[shimatta n desu ↑ne.
59      Shun                                      [°deshoo ne:, u:n.°
60      Yoko        sorede: ano: (0.4) kekkyoku wa: (.) saishuuteki ni wa indo no
                    taishikan: (.) ga (.) ano::: (.) kyuuen no kuruma o
                    shitatete,
61      Shun        °hoo [hoo.°
61a     Yoko             [mukaenikuru made,
62      Shun        °hoo hoo.°
63                  (0.3)
63a     Yoko        sono [dondon pachipachi no (.) sono:: (1.0) batorufiirudo no
64      Shun             [((coughs))
64a     Yoko        sugu waki de,
65      Shun        ee:.
66                  (0.5)
66a →   Yoko        ano::: (.) kekkoo tanoshiku sugoshimashita kere[do ha ha.
67      Shun                                                       [°>soo na n
                    desu ka.<° sorede ano::: otomarininatta hoteru ka nanka de:
                    (.) sono amuritsa no:....
((the first story is over))

★English translation
56      Yoko        Well... oil is under government control and...
57      Shun        Ah.
57a     Yoko        uhm train tickets are also under government control and...
58      Shun        Uh huh.
58a     Yoko        I ended up not being able to go anywhere.
59      Shun        I'm sure, uh huh.
60      Yoko        And then... uhm... in the end... uhm... until the Indian
                    Embassy got a rescue car ready
61      Shun        Oh.
61a     Yoko        and picked me up
62      Shun        Oh.
63                  (0.3)
63a     Yoko        uhm... at the side of
64      Shun        ((coughs))
64a     Yoko        that bang bang battlefield,
65      Shun        Uh huh.
66                  (0.5)
66a     Yoko        uhm... I spent quite an enjoyable time ha ha.
67      Shun        Right.  And then uhm... in the hotel where you were
                    staying... in Amritsar....
((the first story is over))
```

There is a long silence (0.5-second) when the listener does not speak (line 66). Laughter in line 66a is to be understood as a sign of confidence and relief. It is the contradiction which is crucial, i.e. war and enjoyment. Laughter is complementing that evaluation in line 66a. Shun remarks on this contradiction by saying *right* (line 67), and asks a question about the hotel Yoko she was staying. Thus these paralinguistic features (slow speech and laughter) can communicate more than the words themselves and can even provide clues to the teller's frightening experience. There is evidence that the listener understood it this way (e.g. Shun's *right* in line 67).

As noted above, Yoko provides external evaluation of her experience by saying that she spent quite an enjoyable time despite the circumstances (line 66a).

This is in fact the point of the story. This explicit final evaluation (line 66a) stands out from the internal evaluation which occurs in the complicating action section. Because the teller provides a final evaluation of the story, there is no need for the listener to insert further evaluative comments. The *India-Pakistan war* story is over, and a second story is requested (line 67).

Therefore, this story fits the Labovian framework.

2.4.4 personal ads (J5)

In the following text, Hiroki is telling a story to his clubmate, Hoshoku. It seems that both Hiroki and Hoshoku share similar values about the entertainment and amusement trades.

1	Hoshoku	maa::: ore::: no: (.) maa huuzoku taiken¿, a ha
2	Hiroki	un.
2a	Hoshoku	toka bakabanashi tte no wa sonna ya kedo:.
3	Hoshoku	o↑mae mo (.) taigai (0.5) ore ni makehen yaro.
4	Hiroki	HA HA .hh.
5	Hoshoku	°ne.°
Orientation		
6	Hiroki	a::no ne:::: ore (.) ima ninen jan.
7	Hoshoku	han.
8	Hiroki	.h ichinen no koro wa ne:::, mada tookyoo tomodachi inaishi sa:[:::.
9	Hoshoku	[hai ha [hai.
10	Hiroki	[moo ne:: (0.7) nani, dengon,
11	Hoshoku	°h[a.°
11a	Hiroki	[terekura,
12	Hoshoku	tsuushotto daiaru.
12a	Hiroki	soo soo soo [(.) sooyuu no hitotoori yatte sa:::.
13	Hoshoku	[°a ha.°
14	Hoshoku	°ha:n.°
15	Hiroki	.hh (.) moo ne:::: nani ichiban omoshirokatta no wa:[: ano
16	Hoshoku	[°hon.°
16a	Hiroki	zasshi ni:: jibu:::::n [no kookoku o nosete:,
17	Hoshoku	[°hun.°
18	Hoshoku	hoo:.
18a	Hiroki	ano: "himana hito wa isshoni:: (.) asondekuremasen ka" tte yuu: no o noshita toki ga: chotto ne::.
19	Hoshoku	noshita.
20	Hiroki	>soo soo soo soo.<
21	Hoshoku	hon mesen [irete.
22	Hiroki	[aa mesen chau (.) shashin wa noshitenai n da[kedo::.
23	Hoshoku	[°a ha.°
24	Hoshoku	hai hai.=
25	Hiroki	=tada yongyoo dake.
26	Hoshoku	ho[:n.
27	Hiroki	[ano:: (0.6) ano: "daigakusee na n desu kedo[:::, ano hima na node isshoni:: (.) shibuya de eega demo
28	Hoshoku	[°ho:n.°
28a	Hiroki	mimasen ka" tte:,
29	Hoshoku	ho:n.

29a	Hiroki	de denwabangoo dake: (.) [ireteru.
30	Hoshoku	[jammaru?
31	Hiroki	jammaru mitaina kanji no [yatsu.
32	Hoshoku	[a::::n.
33	Hiroki	noshita no ne.
34	Hoshoku	hon.
35	Hiroki	de moo sore noshita koto kekkoo wa↑suretete:: [ke-
36	Hoshoku	[hai hai hai.
37	Hiroki	ho::nde:: (.) kubarareta no.
38	Hoshoku	sono-
39	Hiroki	sono: (.) hatsubaisareta ↑hi.
40	Hoshoku	hai hai hai.
41	Hiroki	minna no temoto ni todoku hi o (.) tekkiri wasureteta no ne.
42	Hoshoku	hai hai hai.
43	Hiroki	sono hi ni nattara ikinari denwa (.) takusan kakattekite::,
44	Hoshoku	ho::::::n.
44a	Hiroki	onnanoko kara.
45	Hoshoku	OO::::::::.
46	Hiroki	de: (.) sa:: (.) hanashishitete: (.) d- ta no ne.
47	Hoshoku	ho::::::n.
48	Hiroki	de kocchi wa betsuni hutsuu no: (.) sonna ayashii ningen ja-nai yo tte iu koto o maa apiirushite [sa::.
49	Hoshoku	[motenai daigakusee.
50	Hiroki	de: (.) terekura toka ja-nai- ja-nai jan.
51	Hoshoku	hai hai hai.
52	Hiroki	dakara mukoo mo chotto ne::, ano: (.) kakine ga hikui rashikute [sono mukoo no::.
53	Hoshoku	[°ho::::::n.°
54	Hoshoku	a naruho[do.
55	Hiroki	[kabe ga ↑ne.
56	Hoshoku	hai hai.
57	Hiroki	de:: (.) hima da- a isshoni shibuya de eega demo miniikimasen ka tte yuu kookoku o mite (.) denwashitekiteru kara::,
58	Hoshoku	ho::n.
58a	Hiroki	hanashi ga hayai wake ne, sugo[ku.
59	Hoshoku	[a naruhodo.
60	Hiroki	shibu[ya ni iru-
61	Hoshoku	[A::N.
62	Hiroki	moo hanashi (.) jaa kondo: kondo jaa aoo yoo tte [(.) mottette (1.0) hanasu wake na no.
63	Hoshoku	[a::n naruhodo.
64	Hoshoku	ii kanji yan.
65	Hiroki	soo (.) de:: (.) kuru:: (.) ritsu mo:: (.) terekura toka dato:: moo hobo moo konai daroo to omotte:: (.) iku n dakedo::,=
66	Hoshoku	=minna yariyari yakara ne a ha.
66a	Hiroki	ano:::::: sooyuu no t- hyakupa kuru no ne.
67	Hoshoku	ho::::::n.
68	Hiroki	de: moo sono ikkai no kookoku de yonin gurai ni atta n dakedo::::.
69	Hoshoku	ho:n.
70		(0.9)
71	Hiroki	dakedo saisho no- saisho no hitorime de ne: moo ne:, .h aa takanozomishitara ikan na tte yappa kooyuu no wa kooyuu deai kana (.) tte.
72	Hoshoku	kooyuu [n ya chuu te.
73	Hiroki	[i- itaimeniatta wake ne.
74	Hoshoku	itaimeniatta?
75	Hiroki	soo.
76	Hoshoku	ganmen ga itakatta wake.
77	Hiroki	.hh n:::: soo tomo yuu [ne::.
78	Hoshok	[a ha ha ha .hh ha naruhodo:.
79	Hiroki	de maa (1.0) >yoosu-< yappa onna wa usotsuku na (.) tte: omotta wake.
80	Hoshoku	HO:::N.
Complicating actions		
81	Hiroki	de:: (.) tsugini kita denwa de::, .h "nani yatteru no::" tte kiitara:::, ano "moderu yatteru".
82	Hoshoku	HA:::: hoo::.
83	Hiroki	de "jimusho de::: (.) t- kono:::: jimusho ni haitteru" toka [itte.
84	Hoshoku	[°ho::n.°
85	Hiroki	ho- hontoni:.
86	Hoshoku	°ha: ha:.°
87	Hiroki	ho::n "konaida mo nijuuyojikan terebi mo deta n dayo:" tte "ura no hoo de:::, [ushiro no hoo de ano::: (.) reotaado
88	Hoshoku	[°ho::n.°
88a	Hiroki	kite: (.) ano: (.) jitensha koideta".
89	Hoshoku	tsk he he sore mo mo[deru ka:.
90	Hiroki	[°ho:n.°

91	Hiroki	maa ichioo moderu kana tte omo[tte:.
92	Hoshoku	[aa::::.
93	Hiroki	o::nde:: an- "jaa aoo yo" tsutte.
94	Hoshoku	°ho::n.°
95	Hiroki	de mo is- soo ikkai itaimeniatteru kara:::,
96	Hoshoku	°hai.°
96a	Hiroki	ano::[::
97	Hoshoku	[kamaeteru wake ne.
97a	Hiroki	soo moo doose sonna no moo hattari daroo [tto (.) omotta n dakedo.
98	Hoshoku	[hai hai hai hai.
Complicating actions (crisis)		
99	Hiroki	ma itsumo no: shibuya no machiawaseru basho de::, [matteta no ne.
100	Hoshoku	[hun hun.
101	Hoshoku	hachi:.
102	Hiroki	soo soo (.) hachikoo no ma ja-nai n dakedo ano[: denwabokkusu] no hidari kara nibanme [no (.) toko.
103	Hoshoku	[°ho::::n.°] [a ha omae wa tantee ka.
104	Hiroki	so:ko:de: mattete::, ↑konakatta no jikan ni.=
105	Hoshoku	=hai hai hai.
106	Hiroki	de a- a:: suppokasareta ka tte omotta n dakedo:, maa juugohun gurai matteta no ne.
107	Hoshoku	°hun hun.°
Complicating actions (climax)		
108	Hiroki	soshitara moo ne:: (1.0) maa kocchi no (.) hukusoo toka tsutaeteatta n dakedo:::,
109	Hoshoku	°hai hai hai.°
109a	Hiroki	moo nanka (.) sugoi moo mae kara no tomodachi::: ga "aa gomen gomen osokunatte:" mitaina kanji de::, .h onnanoko ga boku ni chikazuitekite sa::.
110	Hoshoku	°hu::n.°
111	Hiroki	MECHA KIREE de::.
112	Hoshoku	U[SO::::::.
113	Hiroki	[>hontoni,< (0.5) ho:ntoni moderu mitaina ko de sa::.
114	Hoshoku	maji:::?
115	Hiroki	chotto (.) bibicchatte: boku ga::.
116	Hoshoku	sore (.) itaime chau oishiime yan.
117	Hiroki	chau (.) daka- moo ne:::, dakara::: a- a- aru imi ano:::: bakudan dattara:::,
118	Hoshoku	ho::[:n.
118a	Hiroki	[koo dootodemo shoridekiru [(.) n dakedo::,
119	Hoshoku	[hai hai hai.
119a	Hiroki	chotto ne (.) amarinimo:[::,
120	Hoshoku	[u:n.
120a	Hiroki	chotto:: (.) kawaisugite:::,
121	Hoshoku	ho::n.
121a	Hiroki	ano::: nani mo dekinai.
122		(0.5)
123	Hoshoku	maji.
Resolution		
124	Hiroki	tada goha:n o: tabete::,
125	Hoshoku	un.
125a	Hiroki	"jaa ne" tte (.) sorekkiri tte yuu ne¿
126	Hoshoku	aite tsumanna soo:.
127		(0.7)
128	Hiroki	i- iya (.) so- sonna koto nai kedo::.
129	Hoshoku	°ho::n.°
130	Hiroki	moo boku ga:: nanka nani, wa- akunin ni narenai [°tte yuu ne.°
131	Hoshoku	[omae nani, iza kawaii ko n nattara hiitemootan.
132	Hiroki	soo soo soo.
133	Hiroki	.hh itsumo soo na no boku.
134	Hoshoku	a ha ha kanashii na::.
135	Hiroki	itsumo hiichau no, kawaii to.
136	Hoshoku	s- [maji?
137	Hiroki	[hon.
138	Hiroki	soo soo soo.
139		(0.8)
140	Hoshoku	tsuree na:::::.
((tape turned off))		

★English translation

1	Hoshoku	Well... that's my experience with the entertainment and amusement trades a ha
2	Hiroki	Uh huh.
2a	Hoshoku	or silly talk... that's about it.
3	Hoshoku	You must have much broader experience than me.

4	Hiroki	Ha ha.
5	Hoshoku	Right?
Orientation		
6	Hiroki	Uhm... I'm a second-year student now, right?
7	Hoshoku	Hmm.
8	Hiroki	When I was a first-year student I didn't have friends in Tokyo.
9	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
10	Hiroki	Well... message lines,
11	Hoshoku	Hmm.
11a	Hiroki	telephone dating services,
12	Hoshoku	Two shot dials.
12a	Hiroki	yeah yeah yeah I did all of that.
13	Hoshoku	A ha.
14	Hoshoku	Hmm.
15	Hiroki	Well what was most interesting was uhm...
16	Hoshoku	Hmm.
16a	Hiroki	I placed my ad in a magazine,
17	Hoshoku	Hmm.
18	Hoshoku	Oh.
18a	Hiroki	uhm... I said "if you are not doing anything won't you play with me?" in my ad.
19	Hoshoku	You did?
20	Hiroki	Yeah yeah yeah yeah.
21	Hoshoku	Hmm you crossed your eyes out.
22	Hiroki	Ah... no, I didn't place my photo.
23	Hoshoku	A ha.
24	Hoshoku	Yes yes.
25	Hiroki	Just four lines.
26	Hoshoku	Hmm.
27	Hiroki	Uhm... "I'm a university student and...
28	Hoshoku	Hmm.
28a	Hiroki	not doing anything so would you like to go to a movie in Shibuya?"
29	Hoshoku	Hmm.
29a	Hiroki	and just my phone number was included.
30	Hoshoku	Jamal?
31	Hiroki	It's like Jamal.
32	Hoshoku	Uh huh.
33	Hiroki	I placed an ad.
34	Hoshoku	Hmm.
35	Hiroki	And I forgot about the fact that I had placed an ad-
36	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
37	Hiroki	And then it was distributed.
38	Hoshoku	That-
39	Hiroki	That... on the day that it was put on the market.
40	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
41	Hiroki	I forgot about the day that it would be delivered to the subscribers.
42	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
43	Hiroki	When the day came all of a sudden I started getting phone calls,
44	Hoshoku	Hmm.
44a	Hiroki	from girls.
45	Hoshoku	Oh!
46	Hiroki	And... we would talk (on the phone).
47	Hoshoku	Hmm.
48	Hiroki	And... I tried to convince them that I'm not a suspicious character.
49	Hoshoku	An unpopular university student.
50	Hiroki	And... it's not a telephone dating service, is it?
51	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
52	Hiroki	So they didn't feel any barriers.
53	Hoshoku	Hmm.
54	Hoshoku	I see.
55	Hiroki	I mean there was no obstacle.
56	Hoshoku	Yes yes.
57	Hiroki	And... because they called after reading an ad that said "would you like to go to a movie in Shibuya?"
58	Hoshoku	Hmm.
58a	Hiroki	the conversation would take a fast turn... very fast.
59	Hoshoku	I see.
60	Hiroki	The one in Shibuya-
61	Hoshoku	Uh huh.
62	Hiroki	I pushed the conversation along so as to get together soon.
63	Hoshoku	Uh huh, I see.
64	Hoshoku	Sounds good.
65	Hiroki	Yeah... and... as for the rate of girls who actually show up, if it was a telephone dating service I would think almost none would show up but uhm... with the magazine a hundred per cent showed up.

66	Hoshoku	Because everyone is promiscuous a ha.
67	Hoshoku	Hmm.
68	Hiroki	And... I met four girls through that one ad.
69	Hoshoku	Hmm.
70		(0.9)
71	Hiroki	But the first one... with the first one I thought I shouldn't expect much. After all, this kind of magazine leads to this kind of encounter.
72	Hoshoku	This kind?
73	Hiroki	I had a bitter experience.
74	Hoshoku	You had a bitter experience?
75	Hiroki	Yeah.
76	Hoshoku	Meaning her face was bitter?
77	Hiroki	Mm... that's a way of putting it.
78	Hoshoku	A ha ha ha ha I see.
79	Hiroki	And well... I thought women lie about themselves.
80	Hoshoku	Hmm.
Complicating actions		
81	Hiroki	And... with the next phone call, I said "what do you do?" and she said "I'm a model".
82	Hoshoku	Hmm. Hmm.
83	Hiroki	And she said "I belong to an agency".
84	Hoshoku	Hmm.
85	Hiroki	Really.
86	Hoshoku	Hmm.
87	Hiroki	She said "I was on that 24-Hour-Television and I was in the back... riding a bike wearing a leotard".
88	Hoshoku	Hmm.
89	Hoshoku	Is that what you call a model?
90	Hiroki	Hmm.
91	Hiroki	Well I thought that was a kind of model.
92	Hoshoku	Ah.
93	Hiroki	Then I said "let's meet".
94	Hoshoku	Uh huh.
95	Hiroki	And since I had had a bitter experience once,
96	Hoshoku	Yes.
96a	Hiroki	uhm...
97	Hoshoku	You were prepared for that.
97a	Hiroki	yeah well I thought this must be a bluff.
98	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes yes.
Complicating actions (crisis)		
99	Hiroki	Well I was waiting at a usual meeting spot in Shibuya, you know.
100	Hoshoku	Hmm hmm.
101	Hoshoku	Hachi?
102	Hiroki	Yeah yeah... not in front of Hachiko but in front of the nearby phone booth second from left.
103	Hoshoku	Hmm. A ha are you a detective or what?
104	Hiroki	I was waiting there but she didn't show up.
105	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
106	Hiroki	And I thought she'd stood me up but I waited for about fifteen minutes, you know.
107	Hoshoku	Hmm hmm.
Complicating actions (climax)		
108	Hiroki	And then... well I had told her what I would be wearing,
109	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
109a	Hiroki	like... a girl came towards me acting like an old friend saying "sorry I'm late".
110	Hoshoku	Hmm.
111	Hiroki	She was extremely beautiful.
112	Hoshoku	No kidding!
113	Hiroki	Really, she was really like a model.
114	Hoshoku	Are you serious?
115	Hiroki	I got cold feet.
116	Hoshoku	That's not a bitter experience. That's a sweet experience.
117	Hiroki	So... so well, in a way, if she had been a bomb,
118	Hoshoku	Hmm.
118a	Hiroki	I could have dealt with her as I wished,
119	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
119a	Hiroki	but... she was a little too...
120	Hoshoku	Uh huh.
120a	Hiroki	pretty so...
121	Hoshoku	Hmm.
121a	Hiroki	uhm... I couldn't do anything.
122		(0.5)
123	Hoshoku	Are you serious?
Resolution		
124	Hiroki	We just had a meal,
125	Hoshoku	Uh huh.
125a	Hiroki	and said "bye" and that was it.
126	Hoshoku	Did she look bored?

```
127                     (0.7)
128     Hiroki          No... I wouldn't say that.
129     Hoshoku         Hmm.
130     Hiroki          Well I... what.... cannot be a bad guy.
131     Hoshoku         When it came to the point you drew back.
132     Hiroki          Yeah yeah yeah.
133     Hiroki          I'm always like that.
134     Hoshoku         A ha ha that's sad.
135     Hiroki          I always become withdrawn in front of pretty girls.
136     Hoshoku         Are you serious?
137     Hiroki          Hmm.
138     Hiroki          Yeah yeah yeah.
139                     (0.8)
140     Hoshoku         That's tough.
((tape turned off))
```

- Orientation

Hoshoku finishes telling a story and invites a second story from Hiroki (lines 1-2a, 3). Hiroki begins the story with some background information (lines 6, 8). Hiroki continues to provide orientation of the story in lines 10-11a-12a. When Hiroki is a first-year university student in Tokyo, he realises that he does not have any friends and tries to make new female friends through personal ads. The first evaluation (line 15-16a-18a) comes after several turns after the telling actually begins. The remark Hiroki makes is in the form of interpretation, establishing a reason for telling the story. It also marks the beginning of a description of complicating actions. In response to Hoshoku's question in line 19, Hiroki provides additional information about his personal ad in lines 22 and 25. Hiroki aims to meet girls to go to the cinema with. In a series of clauses Hiroki amplifies orientation by presenting complicating actions. First, Hiroki reconstructs what he wrote in his ad (lines 27-28a-29a) and provides the situational background (lines 35, 39, 41). Hiroki introduces new characters into the story (lines 43-44a, 46). Hiroki gets responses from girls. He offers his interpretation of different methods of meeting people based on his own experience (lines 50, 52, 55). He continues to provide background information in lines 57-58a, 62 and 65-66a. He meets four girls through one ad (line 68). Lines 71,

73 and 79 represent what Hiroki thought to himself at the time of the events. Hiroki is disappointed by all the women he encounters.

- Complicating actions

The scene of the story now shifts to meeting up with a model (lines 81, 83, 87-88a, 93). This is the beginning of the complicating actions. Evaluation appears in lines 95-96a-97a which reveals the narrator's internal thought processes. Hiroki cannot help being sceptical about the girl who claims to be a model.

- Complicating actions (crisis)

Hiroki describes a crisis in lines 99, 104 and 106. The fact that the girl fails to show up on time constitutes a conflict. Hachiko is a well-known meeting spot in central Tokyo.

- Complicating actions (climax)

Inclusion of a climax is marked by phonological stress (line 111). As mentioned by Labov (1972), stress is one of the ways in which internal evaluation is expressed. Hiroki is translating personal experience into dramatic form using such an evaluative device. That is, he is strongly emphasising the fact that the girl is very beautiful. He adds descriptive information about the girl (line 113), stating that the girl indeed looks like a model. In effect, lines 111 and 113 mark the turning point of the story. Hiroki dwells on his surprise by evaluating it (lines 115, 117-118a-119a-120a-121a). He is explaining what he would have done in usual situations. To put it another way, he is emphasising the girl's beauty. One can see that he was actually glad to see her.

- Resolution

In lines 124-125a, Hiroki explains how his date with the model ended. He is also expressing regret in this passage. Hiroki caps off the narrative by giving his

thoughts on the event (line 130). Hiroki gives direct comments about the point of the story at the end (lines 133, 135). These evaluative comments (lines 130, 133, 135) are in part instigated by the listener.

The structure of the story is represented as follows:

Table 6: *personal ads* (J5)

Orientation	Hiroki is a first-year university student; Hiroki does not have friends in Tokyo; Hiroki tries various kinds of telephone dating services; Hiroki places an ad in a magazine; Hiroki receives phone calls from girls; Hiroki meets four girls; disappointment with the first one.
Complicating actions	Hiroki sets up a date with the second one who professes herself to be a model.
Complicating actions (crisis)	The girl does not turn up on time.
Complicating actions (climax)	The girl turns up; Hiroki is surprised by the girl's beauty.
Resolution	Hiroki and the girl have a meal; they say good-bye; Hiroki realises that he cannot be a bad guy. Hiroki always becomes withdrawn in front of pretty girls.

The *personal ads* story is chronological and can also be analysed within the Labovian framework. It contains the following components: orientation, complicating actions and resolution. Although there are ongoing evaluations, as with the *Thai tour guide* story and the *India-Pakistan war* story, there is no final evaluation coming from the teller. There is no abstract or coda.

In *personal ads*, there is a detailed initial orientation as well as ongoing orientations. First of all, in the initial orientation, Hiroki starts with the details and leads up to the complicating actions.

```
15      Hiroki      .hh (.) moo ne:::: nani ichiban omoshirokatta no wa:[: ano
16      Hoshoku                                                          [°hon.°
16a     Hiroki      zasshi ni:: jibu::::::n [no kookoku o nosete:,
17      Hoshoku                             [°hun.°
18      Hoshoku     hoo:.
18a     Hiroki      ano: "himana hito wa isshoni:: (.) asondekuremasen ka" tte
                    yuu: no o noshita toki ga: chotto ne::.
19      Hoshoku     noshita.
20      Hiroki      >soo soo soo soo.<
```

21	Hoshoku	hon mesen [irete.
22	Hiroki	[aa mesen chau (.) shashin wa noshitenai n da[kedo::.
23	Hoshoku	[°a ha.°
24	Hoshoku	hai hai.=
25	Hiroki	=tada yongyoo dake.
26	Hoshoku	ho[:n.
27	Hiroki	[ano:: (0.6) ano: "daigakusee na n desu kedo[:::, ano hima na node isshoni:: (.) shibuya de eega demo
28	Hoshoku	[°ho:n.°
28a	Hiroki	mimasen ka" tte:,
29	Hoshoku	ho:n.
29a	Hiroki	de denwabangoo dake: (.) [ireteru.
30	Hoshoku	[jammaru?
31	Hiroki	jammaru mitaina kanji no [yatsu.
32	Hoshoku	[a::::n.
33	Hiroki	noshita no ne.
34	Hoshoku	hon.
35	Hiroki	de moo sore noshita koto kekkoo wa↑suretete:: [ke-
36	Hoshoku	[hai hai hai.
37	Hiroki	ho::nde:: (.) kubarareta no.
38	Hoshoku	sono-
39	Hiroki	sono: (.) hatsubaisareta ↑hi.
40	Hoshoku	hai hai hai.
41	Hiroki	minna no temoto ni todoku hi o (.) tekkiri wasureteta no ne.
42	Hoshoku	hai hai hai.
43	Hiroki	sono hi ni nattara ikinari denwa (.) takusan kakattekite::,
44	Hoshoku	ho::::::n.
44a	Hiroki	onnanoko kara.
45	Hoshoku	OO::::::::.

★English translation

15	Hiroki	Well what was most interesting was uhm...
16	Hoshoku	Hmm.
16a	Hiroki	I placed my ad in a magazine,
17	Hoshoku	Hmm.
18	Hoshoku	Oh.
18a	Hiroki	uhm... I said "if you are not doing anything won't you play with me?" in my ad.
19	Hoshoku	You did?
20	Hiroki	Yeah yeah yeah yeah.
21	Hoshoku	Hmm you crossed your eyes out.
22	Hiroki	Ah... no, I didn't place my photo.
23	Hoshoku	A ha.
24	Hoshoku	Yes yes.
25	Hiroki	Just four lines.
26	Hoshoku	Hmm.
27	Hiroki	Uhm... "I'm a university student and...
28	Hoshoku	Hmm.
28a	Hiroki	not doing anything so would you like to go to a movie in Shibuya?"
29	Hoshoku	Hmm.
29a	Hiroki	and just my phone number was included.
30	Hoshoku	Jamal?
31	Hiroki	It's like Jamal.
32	Hoshoku	Uh huh.
33	Hiroki	I placed an ad.
34	Hoshoku	Hmm.
35	Hiroki	And I forgot about the fact that I had placed an ad-
36	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
37	Hiroki	And then it was distributed.
38	Hoshoku	That-
39	Hiroki	That... on the day that it was put on the market.
40	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
41	Hiroki	I forgot about the day that it would be delivered to the subscribers.
42	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
43	Hiroki	When the day came all of a sudden I started getting phone calls,
44	Hoshoku	Hmm.
44a	Hiroki	from girls.
45	Hoshoku	Oh!

Rather than saying, directly and simply, that he placed an ad and that the first girl he met turned out to be disappointing, he shows a striking contrast between the first girl and the second girl through details such as the content of his ad (lines 15, 27) and other background information (lines 41, 43).

Then there are ongoing orientations. Line 102 is an example.

```
99      Hiroki          ma itsumo no: shibuya no machiawaseru basho de::,
                        [matteta no ne.
100     Hoshoku         [hun hun.
101     Hoshoku         hachi:.
102     Hiroki          soo soo (.) hachikoo no ma ja-nai n dakedo
                        ano[: denwabokkusu] no hidari kara nibanme [no (.) toko.
103     Hoshoku            [°ho:::n. °   ]                        [a ha omae wa
                        tantee ka.

★English translation
99      Hiroki          Well I was waiting at a usual meeting spot in Shibuya, you
                        know.
100     Hoshoku         Hmm hmm.
101     Hoshoku         Hachi?
102     Hiroki          Yeah yeah... not in front of Hachiko but in front of the
                        nearby phone booth second from left.
103     Hoshoku         Hmm.  A ha are you a detective or what?
```

When Hoshoku asks a clarification question in line 101, Hiroki provides an answer in line 102 in order to fill in the holes for the recipient and to put the pieces together.

In the complicating action section, Hiroki describes events which will later reach a crisis and a climax.

```
79      Hiroki          de maa (1.0) >yoosu-< yappa onna wa usotsuku na (.) tte:
                        omotta wake.
80      Hoshoku         HO:::N.
81 →    Hiroki          de:: (.) tsugini kita denwa de::, .h "nani yatteru no::" tte
                        kiitara:::, ano "moderu yatteru".
82      Hoshoku         HA:::: hoo::.
83      Hiroki          de "jimusho de::: (.) t- kono:::: jimusho ni haitteru" toka
                        [itte.
84      Hoshoku         [°ho::n.°
85      Hiroki          ho- hontoni:.
((13 lines of transcription omitted))
99      Hiroki          ma itsumo no: shibuya no machiawaseru basho de::,
                        [matteta no ne.
100     Hoshoku         [hun hun.
101     Hoshoku         hachi:.
102     Hiroki          soo soo (.) hachikoo no ma ja-nai n dakedo
                        ano[: denwabokkusu] no hidari kara nibanme [no (.) toko.
103     Hoshoku            [°ho::::n.°    ]                       [a ha omae wa
                        tantee ka.
104 →   Hiroki          so:ko:de: mattete::, ↑konakatta no jikan ni.=
105     Hoshoku         =hai hai hai.
106     Hiroki          de a- a:: suppokasareta ka tte omotta n dakedo:, maa juugohun
```

		gurai matteta no ne.
107	Hoshoku	°hun hun.°
108	Hiroki	soshitara moo ne:: (1.0) maa kocchi no (.) hukusoo toka tsutaeteatta n dakedo:::,
109	Hoshoku	°hai hai hai.°
109a	Hiroki	moo nanka (.) sugoi moo mae kara no tomodachi::: ga "aa gomen gomen osokunatte:" mitaina kanji de::, .h onnanoko ga boku ni chikazuitekite sa::.
110	Hoshoku	°hu::n.°
111 →	Hiroki	MECHA KIREE de::.
112	Hoshoku	U[SO::::::.
113	Hiroki	[>hontoni,< (0.5) ho:ntoni moderu mitaina ko de sa::.
114	Hoshoku	maji:::?
115	Hiroki	chotto (.) bibicchatte: boku ga::.
116	Hoshoku	sore (.) itaime chau oishiime yan.

★English translation

79	Hiroki	And well... I thought women lie about themselves.
80	Hoshoku	Hmm.
81	Hiroki	And... with the next phone call, I said "what do you do?" and she said "I'm a model".
82	Hoshoku	Hmm. Hmm.
83	Hiroki	And she said "I belong to an agency".
84	Hoshoku	Hmm.
85	Hiroki	Really.
((13 lines of transcription omitted))		
99	Hiroki	Well I was waiting at a usual meeting spot in Shibuya, you know.
100	Hoshoku	Hmm hmm.
101	Hoshoku	Hachi?
102	Hiroki	Yeah yeah... not in front of Hachiko but in front of the nearby phone booth second from left.
103	Hoshoku	Hmm. A ha are you a detective or what?
104	Hiroki	I was waiting there but she didn't show up.
105	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
106	Hiroki	And I thought she'd stood me up but I waited for about fifteen minutes, you know.
107	Hoshoku	Hmm hmm.
108	Hiroki	And then... well I had told her what I would be wearing,
109	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
109a	Hiroki	like... a girl came towards me acting like an old friend saying "sorry I'm late".
110	Hoshoku	Hmm.
111	Hiroki	She was extremely beautiful.
112	Hoshoku	No kidding!
113	Hiroki	Really, she was really like a model.
114	Hoshoku	Are you serious?
115	Hiroki	I got cold feet.
116	Hoshoku	That's not a bitter experience. That's a sweet experience.

Hiroki signals the beginning of the complicating action with *and... with the next phone call, I said "what do you do?" and she said "I'm a model"* (line 81). The complicating action section has a crisis and a climax: *I was waiting there but she didn't show up* (line 104), and then the climax *she was extremely beautiful* (line 111).

The resolution section concludes the sequence of events described in the complicating action section.

119a	Hiroki	chotto ne (.) amarinimo:[::,
120	Hoshoku	[u:n.
120a	Hiroki	chotto:: (.) kawaisugite:::,
121	Hoshoku	ho::n.

```
121a    Hiroki          ano::: nani mo dekinai.
122                     (0.5)
123     Hoshoku         maji.
124 →   Hiroki          tada goha:n o: tabete::,
125     Hoshoku         un.
125a →  Hiroki          "jaa ne" tte (.) sorekkiri tte yuu ne¿
126     Hoshoku         aite tsumanna soo:.
127                     (0.7)
128     Hiroki          i- iya (.) so- sonna koto nai kedo::.
129     Hoshoku         °ho::n.°

★English translation
119a    Hiroki          but... she was a little too...
120     Hoshoku         Uh huh.
120a    Hiroki          pretty so...
121     Hoshoku         Hmm.
121a    Hiroki          uhm... I couldn't do anything.
122                     (0.5)
123     Hoshoku         Are you serious?
124     Hiroki          We just had a meal,
125     Hoshoku         Uh huh.
125a    Hiroki          and said "bye" and that was it.
126     Hoshoku         Did she look bored?
127                     (0.7)
128     Hiroki          No... I wouldn't say that.
129     Hoshoku         Hmm.
```

Hiroki says *we just had a meal, and said "bye" and that was it* (lines 124, 125a).

This utterance explains what happened in the end, in that although she was beautiful, he got cold feet and was unable to go through with it. The placement and timing of silence in lines 122 and 127 is interesting. Regarding line 122, it is a sign that something is interactionally wrong, in the sense that it is the listener's (Hoshoku) silence — it is a space for him to say something and he doesn't, for (0.5). Certainly it is apparent that Hoshoku does not offer any affiliation talk (Jefferson, 1988), expressions of his own reactions to such situations. He does not share any like troubles of his own, or even minimal response "yeah". Regarding line 127, such silence (0.7 second) after a question is problematic in the sense that such a length is generally a sign of dispreference, a dispreferred turn — and Hiroki does indeed go on to disagree.

In *personal ads*, ongoing evaluations occur throughout the text and stresses the point of the narrative, or the value of a particular event within the narrative, stressing its tellability, e.g. *I got cold feet* (line 115).

111		Hiroki	MECHA KIREE de::.
112		Hoshoku	U[SO::::::.
113		Hiroki	[>hontoni,< (0.5) ho:ntoni moderu mitaina ko de sa::.
114		Hoshoku	maji:::?
115	→	Hiroki	chotto (.) bibicchatte: boku ga::.
116		Hoshoku	sore (.) itaime chau oishiime yan.

★English translation

111	Hiroki	She was extremely beautiful.
112	Hoshoku	No kidding!
113	Hiroki	Really, she was really like a model.
114	Hoshoku	Are you serious?
115	Hiroki	I got cold feet.
116	Hoshoku	That's not a bitter experience. That's a sweet experience.

The evaluation in line 115 has the effect of emphasising the complicating actions in which Hiroki describes his blind date with the model.

However, the teller appears to finish off the story without any explicit final evaluation. As a result, it is the listener (Hoshoku) who presses for the evaluation directly relevant to the events recounted in the story.

124	→	Hiroki	tada goha:n o: tabete::,
125		Hoshoku	un.
125a	→	Hiroki	"jaa ne" tte (.) sorekkiri tte yuu ne¿
126		Hoshoku	aite tsumanna soo:.
127			(0.7)
128		Hiroki	i- iya (.) so- sonna koto nai kedo::.
129		Hoshoku	°ho::n.°
130		Hiroki	moo boku ga:: nanka nani, wa- akunin ni narenai [°tte yuu ne.°
131		Hoshoku	[omae nani, iza kawaii ko n nattara hiitemootan.
132		Hiroki	soo soo soo.
133		Hiroki	.hh itsumo soo na no boku.
134		Hoshoku	a ha ha kanashii na::.
135		Hiroki	itsumo hiichau no, kawaii to.
136		Hoshoku	s- [maji?
137		Hiroki	[hon.
138		Hiroki	soo soo soo.
139			(0.8)
140		Hoshoku	tsuree na:::::.

★English translation

124	Hiroki	We just had a meal,
125	Hoshoku	Uh huh.
125a	Hiroki	and said "bye" and that was it.
126	Hoshoku	Did she look bored?
127		(0.7)
128	Hiroki	No... I wouldn't say that.
129	Hoshoku	Hmm.
130	Hiroki	Well I... what.... cannot be a bad guy.
131	Hoshoku	When it came to the point you drew back.
132	Hiroki	Yeah yeah yeah.
133	Hiroki	I'm always like that.
134	Hoshoku	A ha ha that's sad.
135	Hiroki	I always become withdrawn in front of pretty girls.
136	Hoshoku	Are you serious?
137	Hiroki	Hmm.
138	Hiroki	Yeah yeah yeah.
139		(0.8)
140	Hoshoku	That's tough.

Hiroki's statement in lines 124-125a *we just had a meal, and said "bye" and that was it* implies that the story has come to an end. As noted above, this is the resolution section of the story. Following this, Hoshoku comes in and asks a question *did she look bored?* (line 126) to which Hiroki gives an answer (line 128) and adds an evaluative remark in line 130 *I cannot be a bad guy*. Furthermore, Hiroki adds another evaluative remark in line 133 *I'm always like that* and line 135 *I always become withdrawn in front of pretty girls*. Clearly, evaluation is being interactively pursued by the listener and the teller at this point.

One could argue that the teller does not provide a final evaluation of the story because detailed orientations as well as ongoing evaluations should be sufficient for the listener to infer the point of the story. In this sense, there appears to be some sort of connection between orientations and evaluations. This observation is in parallel with the *Thai tour guide* story where the listener takes on a central role in emphasising the evaluation of the character in the story. In *personal ads*, although the listener does not insert an evaluative comment, he asks a question in order to press for the evaluation, supporting the notion of "recipient prompted evaluations".

Therefore, this story fits the Labovian framework, although a final evaluation is prompted by the recipient.

2.4.5 Overall discussion

The preceding subsections examined the structural aspects of three Japanese stories in light of the framework of story structure proposed by Labov and Maynard. While I focused on obligatory/non-obligatory components of stories, the data analysis also revealed interesting characteristics of Japanese stories in terms of orientation and

evaluation components. This subsection synthesises the findings of the preceding subsections and gives a picture of what these Japanese stories look like.

The Japanese stories (*Thai tour guide* (J1), *India-Pakistan war* (J3), *personal ads* (J5)) are characterised by having (i) a detailed initial and ongoing orientations, (ii) complicating actions and (iii) resolution components. Both Labov and Maynard consider these components to be obligatory in a narrative. One story (J1) has the additional optional components, i.e. the abstract and the coda. As for the evaluation component, although there are ongoing evaluations in all three stories (J1, J3, J5), some tellers (J1, J5) leave an explicit final evaluation unstated, allowing the recipient to identify the point of the narrative. A similar observation has been made by Maynard, who points out that evaluation in Japanese stories is an optional category. However, Labov, from his Anglo perspective, maintains that evaluation is a key feature of a narrative. In what follows, I will discuss these issues in more detail.

The analysis of the Japanese data shed light on the importance that the narrators give to orientative information, especially at the start of the narrative. The initial orientation in the examples (J1, J3, J5) is detailed, with the tellers providing detailed contextual information for the recipient. There are also many ongoing orientations as needs be, some of which provide a significant amount of information (J1). It was suggested that emphasis is given to orientation in order for the recipient to understand the ensuing complicating actions properly.

In this connection, Tannen (1989: 137-138) puts forth a view that relates to the question of the importance of orientation sections in Japanese stories. According to Tannen, specific details in stories are more vivid and more convincing than abstract propositions because these details or images provide ongoing internal evaluation, thus promoting a viewpoint favoured by the narrator. Detailed and ongoing orientations

thus result in what I call, "recipient prompted evaluations", i.e. the narrators lead the listeners to construct the point of the story from an accumulation of details, not to mention ongoing evaluations. For this reason, orientations and evaluations become interrelated aspects of the narration process in Japanese storytelling.

This is evidenced by the fact that because some Japanese stories (J1, J5) come to closure without any explicit final evaluations on the part of the teller. As a result, the listener actively infers the evaluation from the given background information. The listener may either insert an explicit evaluative remark directly related to the content of the story (J1) or ask questions (J5) in order to evoke a specific evaluation. However, this is not always the case. One narrator wraps up her story by providing an evaluation of her experience at the end of the story (J3). When the teller provides such explicit final evaluation, the story comes to an end then and there (J3) because it is no longer necessary for the listener to look for evaluation.

Japanese stories in the corpus are consistent with the Labovian framework of storytelling, although as Maynard noted, there are slight differences in terms of whether particular components are obligatory or not. Japanese narrators in this study prefer to include in their stories detailed descriptions of people, places and things. Details in a story create images/emotions in the recipient's mind, allowing him/her to fully understand what the narrators went through. It is these details that provide the basis for evaluative comments. Although final evaluations may be missing in Japanese stories, tellers and recipients appear to understand the point being made. This is demonstrated by the fact that although narrators frequently insert evaluative remarks throughout the narrative, it is usually the listeners who indicate understanding of the point of the story. All of these factors are evidence of "recipient prompted evaluations" adopted by the Japanese participants.

2.5 Analysis of the Australian data

2.5.1 Introduction

In accordance with the approach taken in the previous subsection, only three Australian stories will be analysed here for the purpose of elucidating the story structure due to space limitation. Once again, these three stories are representative of the larger sample.

2.5.2 hitchhiking (A1)

The first data sample provides an example of an elicited story. Jo gives Deborah an account of something that happened to her in Colorado when she was twenty years old and in ski training. This story has two episodes.

Episode 1		
1	Deborah	jo, tell us about (.) when you were hitchhiking¿
Orientation		
2	Jo	.hh well, when i was overseas (.) training for skiing in (.) colorado, uhm (.) often (.) like sometimes i w- (.) i would (0.3) the buses kind of wouldn't be coming when i needed to get somewhere so i would .hhh hitchhike around a little bit.
3	Jo	.h an' uhm (.) >which isn't something i would normally do but in the ski kinda:< (.) feels like a safe thing to do.
Complicating actions/Resolution		
4	Jo	.hh an' one day i was out hitchhike- an' i was walking along the road.
5	Jo	an' i could hear this ↑vehicle coming along.
6	Jo	so i put my thumb out.
7	Jo	.hhh an' i thought it sounded like a car:.
8	Jo	but (.) it wasn't a car at all.
9	Jo	it was a snowplough.
10	Deborah	oh.=
11	Jo	=an' so it came pa:st, an' (.) blew all the sno::w like (.) off the road on top of me.
12	Jo	so i ended up looking quite a lot like a snowman.=
Evaluation		
13	Deborah	=but he didn't acknowledge the fact that [you were hitching around.
14	Jo	[NO.
15	Jo	well he would have thought that i was ma::d 'cause he would have thought "well why on earth [is this woman .h trying to hitch a- putting her thumb out
16	Deborah	[a ha ha ha ha ha ha.
16a	Jo	an' trying to hitch a ride with a snowplough".
17	Jo	but i couldn't see (.) like (.) to [tell any difference between that an' a car.
18	Deborah	[yeah.
19	Deborah	and he didn't know you were blind.
20	Jo	no:.
Episode 2		
Abstract/Orientation		
21	Jo	an' i had a- uhm a few experiences like that.

22	Jo	another time i was (.) uhm (0.3) hitchhiking once an' the- because i'd just been (.) try- gone (.) <i wanted to get vegemite>.
23	Jo	an' you couldn't buy that in the states.
24	Jo	an' some teammates of mine had brought (.) some over.
25	Jo	.hh an' for them to give me a jar of (.) vegemite i had to give them a six pack of beer.
26		(0.6)
27	Jo	an' i was only twenty an' it- an' (.) you had to be twenty- one to drink in the states.
28	Jo	so i had my false id.
29	Deborah	wo[::w.
Complicating actions		
30	Jo	[an' so i went into the seven eleven store an' they said "a: ha: ha:" .hh very funny though (.) it's worked for me all season but it- (.) that- they- they thought that it looked (.) didn't look (0.8) real enough.
31	Jo	an' so .hh they said "oh just hold on we'll call the police".
32	Jo	so i ran across the road, .hhh an' started trying to hitchhike.
33	Jo	an' this person picked me up.
34	Jo	an' (0.5) they didn't pull off the road far enough (0.5) when they came to pick me ↑up.
Resolution/Evaluation		
35	Jo	so they got pulled over by the police.
36	Deborah	a ha ha [ha ha ha.
37	Jo	[an' (.) an' they ended up going to COURT, because they hadn't (.) come off the road enough,
38	Deborah	no.
38a	Jo	to pick me up.
39	Deborah	yeah.
40	Jo	an' so i felt (.) pretty bad about that.
41		(1.0)
42	Jo	a [ha.
43	Deborah	[a ha ha ha ha ha.
44	Jo	[.hh so- (.) i don't think i've hitchhiked since.
45	Deborah	[but-
46	Jo	a ha.
47	Deborah	but you didn't end up having to show your id.
48	Deborah	and you didn't [get-
49	Jo	[no:.
50	Deborah	and you didn't get beer.
51		(0.4)
52	Jo	no a ha [ha ha.
53	Deborah	[a ha ha ha ha.
54	Jo	.hh but i think i ended up with some vegemite tsk a ha ha.
55	Deborah	that's all right then.
56	Jo	yeah.
57	Deborah	so that's a happy ending.
58	Jo	yeah.
((tape turned off))		

- Orientation

Deborah's question (line 1) directs the theme of the story. The situation was set up for a story to emerge. The questioning from Deborah prompts Jo and gives her the floor. Jo gives the background information to the narrative, orienting Deborah to what is to follow (line 2). Jo specifies the location (Colorado) and signals that it is a first-person narrative. The fact that the buses do not come when Jo needs to get somewhere illustrates an initial problem of the story. In line 3, Jo attributes the evaluative remark to herself in that situation. She decides to hitchhike.

- Complicating actions/Resolution

Jo continues with narrative clauses (lines 4-6) describing complicating actions, followed by the evaluative remark (line 7). Jo provides orientative information (lines 8-9) and complicating actions (line 11), followed by a resolution (line 12). Because Jo is visually impaired, she cannot tell any difference between a snowplough and a car, and ends up getting snow off the road on top of her.

- Evaluation

At this point Deborah provides assessments of Jo's unfortunate experience. As a response to that, Jo expresses an interpretation of the events in lines 15-16a and 17. Jo knows that her blindness contributed to the happening. This is the end of the first episode.

- Abstract/Orientation

Jo picks up elements from the first episode and plays them out in a second episode. The abstract (line 21) gives a general statement about the second episode and sets up expectations as to what the story is going to be about. Here Jo refers to another experience involving hitchhiking and provides an expression of desire (line 22) which belongs to the category of evaluation. She wants to get some Vegemite. In a series of clauses, Jo provides an initial problem (line 23) and orientative information (lines 24-25, 27-28).

- Complicating actions

Lines 30-34 recount complicating actions. This is when Jo attempts to purchase bottles of beer at the Seven Eleven store with her false id. The store attendant calls the police. Jo runs across the road and hitchhikes.

- Resolution/Evaluation

Jo turns to the outcome of the events (lines 35, 37-38a) and attributes the evaluative remark to herself at the moment that the incident occurred (line 40). The car gets pulled over by the police. Jo indicates that she feels bad (line 40). She wraps up the story by providing an external evaluation, suggesting that she learned a lesson from her failure (line 44).

The structure of the story is represented as follows:

Table 7: *hitchhiking* (A1)

Episode 1

Orientation	Jo trains for skiing in Colorado; the buses do not come when Jo needs to get somewhere; Jo hitchhikes.
Complicating actions	Jo hears a vehicle coming along; Jo puts her thumb out; the snowplough blows all the snow off the road on top of Jo.
Resolution	Jo ends up looking like a snowman.
Evaluation	Jo realises that her blindness caused it.

Episode 2

Abstract	Jo had a few experiences like that.
Orientation	Jo wants to get Vegemite; Vegemite is unobtainable in the States; Jo's teammates have brought some Vegemite over; Jo has to give them a six pack of beer in exchange for a jar of Vegemite.
Complicating actions	Jo goes into the Seven Eleven store; the store attendant detects Jo's false id and decides to call the police; Jo runs across the road; Jo hitchhikes.
Resolution	The car gets pulled over by the police; the person who picked Jo up ends up going to court.
Evaluation	Jo feels bad. Jo has not hitchhiked since then.

The *hitchhiking* story is an example of cyclical storytelling. It has two episodes: the first talks about the hitchhiking experience on a snowy mountain while the second deals with the trouble with the Seven Eleven clerk. The Labovian framework proves to be valuable for analysis of the story's structural components. The two episodes consist of all the obligatory components (orientation, complicating actions, resolution and evaluation), though the second episode is introduced by an optional abstract component, which serves as a bridge between the two episodes.

The story contains a succinct initial orientation in the first episode, although the orientation in the second episode is detailed. At the beginning of the first episode, Jo mentions that she was in Colorado for ski training and would try to hitchhike when she needed to go somewhere (line 2).

1	Deborah	jo, tell us about (.) when you were hitchhiking¿
2 →	Jo	.hh well, when i was overseas (.) training for skiing in (.) colorado, uhm (.) often (.) like sometimes i w- (.) i would (0.3) the buses kind of wouldn't be coming when i needed to get somewhere so i would .hhh hitchhike around a little bit.
3 →	Jo	.h an' uhm (.) >which isn't something i would normally do but in the ski kinda:< (.) feels like a safe thing to do.
4	Jo	.hh an' one day i was out hitchhike- an' i was walking along the road.

Jo's summary statement is expressed only through a logical connective *so* as in *so I would hitchhike around a little bit* (line 2).

The second episode begins with a detailed orientation. It is introduced by an abstract which outlines the story that Jo intends will follow (line 21). The abstract also serves as a transition signal between the first and the second episode.

19	Deborah	and he didn't know you were blind.
20	Jo	no:.
21	Jo	an' i had a- uhm a few experiences like that.
22 →	Jo	another time i was (.) uhm (0.3) hitchhiking once an' the- because i'd just been (.) try- gone (.) <i wanted to get vegemite>.
23 →	Jo	an' you couldn't buy that in the states.
24 →	Jo	an' some teammates of mine had brought (.) some over.
25 →	Jo	.hh an' for them to give me a jar of (.) vegemite i had to give them a six pack of beer.
26		(0.6)
27 →	Jo	an' i was only twenty an' it- an' (.) you had to be twenty-one to drink in the states.
28 →	Jo	so i had my false id.
29	Deborah	wo::w.

Here Jo provides Deborah with the particulars of the situation. Jo is introducing Deborah to the characters, the location, important background information, and covering traditional questions of who, what, when and where. In both episodes, the

orientation section is confined to the start of the episode. Jo does not insert any other details later in the story, i.e. during the complicating action or the evaluation section.

A series of complicating actions are introduced by Jo saying: *and one day I was out hitthchike* (line 4) in episode 1, and *and so I went into the Seven Eleven store* (line 30) in episode 2.

```
3       Jo              .h an' uhm (.) >which isn't something i would normally do but
                        in the ski kinda:< (.) feels like a safe thing to do.
4 →     Jo              .hh an' one day i was out hitchhike- an' i was walking along
                        the road.
5       Jo              an' i could hear this ↑vehicle coming along.
6       Jo              so i put my thumb out.
7       Jo              .hhh an' i thought it sounded like a car:.
8       Jo              but (.) it wasn't a car at all.
9       Jo              it was a snowplough.

((lines deleted))

28      Jo              so i had my false id.
29      Deborah         wo[::w.
30 →    Jo                [an' so i went into the seven eleven store an' they said
                        "a: ha: ha:" .hh very funny though (.) it's worked for me all
                        season but it- (.) that- they- they thought that it looked
                        (.) didn't look (0.8) real enough.
31      Jo              an' so .hh they said "oh just hold on we'll call the police".
32      Jo              so i ran across the road, .hhh an' started trying to
                        hitchhike.
33      Jo              an' this person picked me up.
34      Jo              an' (0.5) they didn't pull off the road far enough (0.5) when
                        they came to pick me ↑up.
```

These are temporally ordered sequences describing what happened.

There is a distinct resolution section in each episode by Jo saying: *so I ended up looking quite a lot like a snowman* (line 12) in episode 1, and *so they got pulled over by the police* (line 35) in episode 2.

```
11      Jo              =an' so it came pa:st, an' (.) blew all the sno::w like (.)
                        off the road on top of me.
12 →    Jo              so i ended up looking quite a lot like a snowman.=
13      Deborah         =but he didn't acknowledge the fact that
                        [you were hitching around.
14      Jo              [NO.

((lines deleted))

33      Jo              an' this person picked me up.
34      Jo              an' (0.5) they didn't pull off the road far enough (0.5) when
                        they came to pick me ↑up.
35 →    Jo              so they got pulled over by the police.
36      Deborah         a ha ha [ha ha ha.
37      Jo                      [an' (.) an' they ended up going to COURT, because
```

		they hadn't (.) come off the road enough,
38	Deborah	no.
38a	Jo	to pick me up.

These resolution sections show how the complicating actions got resolved.

In *hitchhiking*, there are ongoing evaluations as well as an explicit final evaluation, accompanied by a moral, i.e. a lesson about right and wrong behaviour. As for ongoing evaluation, for example, Jo attributes the evaluative remark to herself within the complicating action section in the first episode (line 7). This is a simple external evaluation.

6	Jo	so i put my thumb out.
7 →	Jo	.hhh an' i thought it sounded like a car:.
8	Jo	but (.) it wasn't a car at all.
9	Jo	it was a snowplough.

This ongoing evaluation indicates what she thought to herself at the time of the events. It does not overtly break the flow of the story.

Although the recipient comes in (line 13) and initiates an evaluation in the first episode, an explicit final evaluation (line 40) comes from the teller along with a moral/lesson (line 44) in the second episode, which wraps up the story as a whole.

12	Jo	so i ended up looking quite a lot like a snowman.=
13 →	Deborah	=but he didn't acknowledge the fact that
		[you were hitching around.
14	Jo	[NO.
15	Jo	well he would have thought that i was ma::d 'cause he would
		have thought "well why on earth
		[is this woman .h trying to hitch a- putting her thumb out
16	Deborah	[a ha ha ha ha ha ha.
16a	Jo	an' trying to hitch a ride with a snowplough".
17	Jo	but i couldn't see (.) like (.) to
		[tell any difference between that an' a car.
18	Deborah	[yeah.
19	Deborah	and he didn't know you were blind.
20	Jo	no:.
((lines deleted))		
35	Jo	so they got pulled over by the police.
36	Deborah	a ha ha [ha ha ha.
37	Jo	[an' (.) an' they ended up going to COURT, because
		they hadn't (.) come off the road enough,
38	Deborah	no.

38a		Jo	to pick me up.
39		Deborah	yeah.
40	→	Jo	an' so i felt (.) pretty bad about that.
41			(1.0)
42		Jo	a [ha.
43		Deborah	[a ha ha ha ha ha.
44	→	Jo	[.hh so- (.) i don't think i've hitchhiked since.
45		Deborah	[but-
46		Jo	a ha.

In the first episode, it looks as if valuation is interactively pursued by the participants (lines 13-20). In the second episode, however, Jo clearly initiates an evaluation of her experience by saying *and so I felt pretty bad about that* (line 40). Following this, Jo says *I don't think I've hitchhiked since* (line 44), imparting to the recipient some important moral lesson. In other words, Jo is summarising the whole story and implying that it was a lesson to be learned. Although telling stories about one's own mistakes runs the risk of loss of face (Schank, 1990), mistake stories can also be self-enhancing if, for example, the teller implies that he/she learned something from the experience as in this story.

Therefore, this story fits the Labovian framework.

2.5.3 goldfish (A3)

Out of the almost infinite number of experiences available, childhood memories seem to exert a powerful influence on individuals' consciousness. The following narrative deals with goldfish that Damien bought when he was eight years old.

1	Emma	what were these (.) uhm (1.0) a ha ha .hh what were your experiences of having pets as a child?
2		(1.0)
Orientation		
3	Damien	we were always (1.0) >i don't know< (.) not really a family that had (0.7) pets.
4		(0.5)
5	Damien	like, >i don't think< (0.4) tsk (.) my mum's family di:d like had dogs, but .hh >dad never did have anything¿<
6	Damien	so i guess (.) you know, >they never really liked having animals anyway¿<

7	Damien	.hh so you know, we were never gonna (.) get (.) a dog or (0.3) a cat.
8	Emma	so: (.) your mum (.) didn't really like dogs even though she came from (0.8) a family that always had [dogs.
9	Damien	[yeah.
10	Damien	mum didn't an' dad (.) you know, dad he (.) doesn't like (.) dogs or cats an' (0.6) just throws things at them all the-
11	Emma	°hm.°
12		(0.8)
13	Damien	so (0.6) yeah so: you kno:w, an' we were never (.) i guess because (1.2) because of that (.) >i was never bought up< (.) >we never were really kids< that wanted to say-
14	Damien	[na.
15	Emma	[all right, so, you (.) you: an' (0.7) kim an' andrew never (.) sort of (0.4) asked for a (0.4) pet or anything?
16	Damien	no (0.3) we di[dn't (.) really care.
17	Emma	[↑mm:::::.
18		(1.2)
19	Damien	a[:n'-
20	Emma	['cause i always wanted to have (1.1) yeah a cat (.) when [i was young.
21	Damien	[yeah.
22	Emma	[like (.) i used to go on an' on about it all the ti:me,
23	Damien	[yeah.
23a	Emma	before we: got (.) ben.
24	Damien	well i think i got (0.3) you know, i didn't like cats 'cause dad (.) °would° go on about how much he hated cats an' .hh mm:: (.) an' so (.) you know, >i an' mum would sort of talk about dogs< an' we'd visit (.) >my grandparents an' they'd have< (.) you know, the dog (1.0) snoopy.
25	Damien	.h but uh::m (1.3) °you know (.) that was the only real animal that anyone had an' (1.1) it's kind of smelly.°
26	Damien	so- so-
27	Emma	n hu [hu hu hu.
28	Damien	[so yeah:.
29	Damien	.hhh yeah:: (1.1) so.
Complicating actions		
30	Damien	.hh but then for some reason we:: (0.5) decided to get (.) fish.
31	Damien	like (.) we thought (0.8) oh yeah we can handle fish (.) >'cause you don't really have to look after them.<
32		(0.9)
33	Damien	maybe that was part of the reason.
34	Damien	.hhh (.) 'cause we just (1.3) you know (.) were too lazy to look after a (.) >dog or a cat or something.<
35		(0.4)
36	Damien	tsk (0.6) so we went to the croydon (.) we were at croydon market¿
37	Damien	an' i just (.) y'know, °for° some reason we saw all these fish an' thought ↑ha: you know (.) >it would be really good if we got fish.<
38		(1.0)
39	Damien	.h so:: <we bought> (1.4) uh:m (0.5) tsk these two fish.
40	Damien	one was uh (0.4) goldfish, an' one was one of those little black (1.0) ones with the googily [eyes.
41	Emma	[yes eye [thing.
42	Damien	[e he he .hh he he.
43	Damien	so: (.) you kno:w, they are in their plastic ba:g an' (.) >it was just freaky< (.) taking them home (.) you know, in a plastic ba:g¿ >it felt as though< .hhh (.) i was just paranoid that it was gonna leak [an' they were just gonna die in the
44	Emma	[yeah:::.
	Damien	[plastic ba:g¿ an' be trapped.
45	Emma	[yeah::.
46	Emma	how were you going home (.) like (.) in a car:?
47	Damien	yeah, in a car.
48	Damien	so (.) you know, from croydon (0.7) it was a bit of a drive in a half-hour drive.
49	Emma	°hmm.°
50		(0.9)
51	Damien	so: (1.5) >i- for- you always forget< (.) that fish need oxygen
52	Emma	ha::.
52a	Damien	'cause they're in water¿ [e he he .hh but uhm.
53	Emma	[yeah:.
54	Emma	that's- i guess- i used to always go to croydon market (.) on the tra:in, so (.) °i was just picturing you° (.) on the

		[train (.) with your little-
55	Damien	[yeah.
56	Damien	.hh no [e he he.
56a	Emma	[bag of the fish.
57	Damien	.hh no we were driving.
58	Emma	°hm.°
Complicating actions		
59	Damien	.hh a::nd uhm (1.4) YEAH, but you know, we bought a bo::wl an' everything but you know, just like a bo::wl an' (.) wa:ter an' (0.8) that's about it.
60		(1.0)
61	Damien	°not (.) not one of those (0.3) spiffy things with (0.8) you know, oxygenating stuff.°
62	Emma	mm.
63	Damien	.hh an' i don't think there was even any plants or anything in ha ha ha.
64	Damien	.hh so we just (.) you know, plunked all these fish in this bo::wl.
65	Damien	.hh an' we were just trying to figure out what to na:me them because they were a couple (0.7) you know bought at the same time they had to be you know, a couple (0.5) name¿
66	Damien	tsk .h so they ended up being bert an' ernie.
67	Emma	a [ha.
68	Damien	[°a ha ha.°
69	Damien	.hh uhm (.) bert be:ing the black googily-eyed one (.) °ernie being (1.5) the goldfish.°
70		(1.2)
71	Emma	mm::::.
72		(1.0)
Resolution/Evaluation		
73	Damien	uh::m (.) i think they lived for about (.) two weeks.
74	Damien	a ha.
75	Damien	.hh (.) i don't really remem[ber.
76	Emma	[why did they die.
77	Damien	i don't kno::w, i mean, i don't remember anyone (.) >i don't know how often you are supposed to clean (0.3) the fish tank or anything.
78	Emma	mm (.) i think uhm (.) if the: (0.9) water is not being oxygenated you have to clean °them° pretty regular.
79	Damien	.hh yeah well see maybe (.) they just died of (1.7) lack of oxygen¿ or something [like that¿
80	Emma	[yeah:.
81	Damien	.hh (.) but (0.3) uh::m (1.4) °you know,° I JUST (.) always wonder about fish from those markets HOW (.) stressed they are.
82	Emma	m[m: w-
83	Damien	[an' also (.) you know, bringing them home in a plastic ba:g for half an hour
84	Emma	u hu.
84a	Damien	>probably isn't very good for them.<
85	Emma	yeah::.
86	Damien	uh:m (.) but then (0.5) they've got (.) short memory: (0.7) [°probably.°
87	Emma	[yeah:.
88	Emma	i don't imagine (.) fish get too stressed out.
89	Damien	yeah:.
90		(0.4)
91	Damien	uhm (2.2) but (1.0) YEAH so they lasted about two weeks¿ an'::::: they were dead.
92	Damien	I THINK ONE DIED (0.3) i think about (.) nn (0.5) THE GOLDFISH DIED FIRST,
93	Emma	m[m:.
93a	Damien	[ernie.
94	Emma	so those black ones tend to be really resilient¿
95		(0.3)
96	Damien	yeah.
97	Emma	like (.) i had a friend who owned one of them (.) an' (.) like (.) it lived for about (.) ten years or so.
98	Damien	yeah.
99	Emma	like (.) an' she was (.) [DEVASTATED when it died (.)
100	Damien	[wow.
100a	Emma	because she- it had been her pet for such a long time.
101	Damien	did her parents do the old just (.) replace it though¿ may[be they did- a ha ha.
102	Emma	[NO no.
103	Emma	no they didn't.
104	Emma	well, you see- (.) the fish tank was in her bedroom [so she woke up in the morning an' it was dead.
105	Damien	[°ah::, yeah.°

106	Damien	yeah, [a ha ha ha.
107	Emma	[a ha .hh there was (.) no chance for
108	Damien	yeah:.
108a	Emma	for her parents to intervene [(.) in that one.
109	Damien	[a ha ha ha.
110	Damien	yeah:.
111	Damien	uh:: (0.6) no the goldfish died first but the (0.6) the black one die::d (2.2) within (0.3) three or four days (0.5) after that.
112	Emma	mm::::.
113	Damien	so-
114	Emma	you weren't using a lot of fly spra[ys or anything to get rid of- a ha.
115	Damien	[a ha (0.4) that's what i've thought about (.) since i've learned more about (0.8) what kills them.
116		(1.2)
117	Damien	you know (.) >i was like< (.) we- we liked them for the first week but then we just lost interest anyway, so >it was like oh well they are dead< (0.5) we felt kind of bad about it but (2.1) <that's it.>
118	Damien	°no more fishies.°
119		(0.5)
Coda		
120	Damien	so that was our best (0.4) pet experiment.
121		(4.6)
122	Emma	an' then you had birds?
123	Damien	.hhh yeah:::::: (0.8) my:::: °>i think it was my<° my grandmother had a budgie¿....

((the first story is over))

- Orientation

Emma's utterance (line 1) is a request to hear a story. The situation was set up for a story to emerge, which means that the participants knew what they were doing, i.e. "telling a story". The beginning section of the story (lines 3, 5-7, 10, 13) is directed to stage setting about Damien's childhood. These are a series of highly evaluative sequences realised grammatically by negation (*not*, *never*). In other words, internal evaluation is accomplished through the use of syntactic devices such as negation (Labov, 1972). When using internal evaluation, the teller's comments on the events in the story are implicit and built into the story. External evaluation appears in lines 24 and 25 where Damien comments on the story through direct comments about the point of the story as he sees it. Damien's family does not like animals in general.

- Complicating actions

Damien then departs from orientation and takes Emma through the complicating actions. He draws on psychological states of the characters (line 30) and

attributes the evaluative remark to themselves at the moment that the event happened (line 31). He also evaluates why they bought fish in particular (lines 33-34). Damien and his siblings decide to buy goldfish, thinking that fish do not require extra care. Damien locates the events in the geographical space (line 36) in the orientation and recalls what the characters thought at the time (line 37). The children buy goldfish at the Croydon Market in Melbourne. Specifically, they buy two fish there (line 39). Damien describes the fish (line 40). Damien gets paranoid about taking the fish home in a small plastic bag (line 43). Damien says that it is easy to forget about the oxygen and goes on to indicate that he did in fact forget it (line 51-52a). Complicating actions are interlaced with evaluation.

- Complicating actions

Lines 59, 64, 65 are a continuation of line 40 and present complicating actions. Damien then provides ancillary information about the fish (lines 59, 61) and thinks back on it (line 63). The children buy a glass bowl for the fish. In lines 66 and 69, Damien explains how the fish were named.

- Resolution/Evaluation

The fish lived for about two weeks (line 73). Damien analyses why the fish died so quickly (lines 81, 83-84a, 86). Damien paraphrases his remark (line 111). It is as if he is emphasising his perspective. Damien completes the episode by providing an evaluation of the events (lines 117-118). By providing external evaluation of the whole story, Damien is indicating the point of the narrative (Labov, 1972: 366). He admits that the kids lost interest in the fish after the first week.

- Coda

Line 120 serves as a coda that makes an overall statement about the text. It marks closure to the story. Damien tells the audience what is important about this

whole story and the storytelling event. A coda is the explicit declaring that the narrative is over and brings the story back to the perspective of the present.

The structure of the story is represented as follows:

Table 8: *goldfish* (A3)

Orientation	Damien is a child; Damien's family does not have pets; Damien's mother comes from a family that always had dogs; Damien's father does not like dogs or cats; Damien's grandparents have a dog.
Complicating actions	Damien and his siblings decide to get fish; they go to Croydon market and buy two fish.
Resolution	The fish die after about two weeks.
Evaluation	Damien and his siblings feel bad about it.
Coda	That is their best pet experiment.

The *goldfish* story is an example of a generic past time story (Polanyi, 1985a: 11). The structure of this story is complete in terms of Labovian analysis; it has all the obligatory components present, i.e. orientation, complicating actions, resolution and evaluation. The story has an optional coda component which makes an overall statement about the text.

What stands out most strongly and most impressively about *goldfish* is the way the teller consistently gives explanations/justifications for the ongoing context of the narrative, i.e. the situation, actions and events right from the start of the story. In other words, Damien frequently tells of a thought or feeling that occurred throughout the narrative, which has an evaluative effect. The following discussion will illustrate the nature of the evaluation strategies adopted by Damien.

The story begins with some indefinite past time (line 3).

1	Emma	what were these (.) uhm (1.0) a ha ha .hh what were your experiences of having pets as a child?
2		(1.0)
3 →	Damien	we were always (1.0) >i don't know< (.) not really a family that had (0.7) pets.
4		(0.5)
5 →	Damien	like, >i don't think< (0.4) tsk (.) my mum's family di:d like had dogs, but .hh >dad never did have anything¿<
6 →	Damien	so i guess (.) you know, >they never really liked having

		animals anyway¿<
7 →	Damien	.hh so you know, we were never gonna (.) get (.) a dog or (0.3) a cat.
8	Emma	so: (.) your mum (.) didn't really like dogs even though she came from (0.8) a family that always had [dogs.
9	Damien	[yeah.
10 →	Damien	mum didn't an' dad (.) you know, dad he (.) doesn't like (.) dogs or cats an' (0.6) just throws things at them all the-
11	Emma	°hm.°
12		(0.8)
13 →	Damien	so (0.6) yeah so: you kno:w, an' we were never (.) i guess because (1.2) because of that (.) >i was never bought up< (.) >we never were really kids< that wanted to say-
14	Damien	[na.
15	Emma	[all right, so, you (.) you: an' (0.7) kim an' andrew never (.) sort of (0.4) asked for a (0.4) pet or anything?
16	Damien	no (0.3) we di[dn't (.) really care.
17	Emma	[↑mm:::::.
18		(1.2)
19	Damien	a[:n'-
20	Emma	['cause i always wanted to have (1.1) yeah a cat (.) when [i was young.
21	Damien	[yeah.
22	Emma	[like (.) i used to go on an' on about it all the ti:me,
23	Damien	[yeah.
23a	Emma	before we: got (.) ben.
24 →	Damien	well i think i got (0.3) you know, i didn't like cats 'cause dad (.) °would° go on about how much he hated cats an' .hh mm:: (.) an' so (.) you know, >i an' mum would sort of talk about dogs< an' we'd visit (.) >my grandparents an' they'd have< (.) you know, the dog (1.0) snoopy.
25 →	Damien	.h but uh::m (1.3) °you know (.) that was the only real animal that anyone had an' (1.1) it's kind of smelly.°
26	Damien	so- so-
27	Emma	n hu [hu hu hu.
28	Damien	[so yeah:.
29	Damien	.hhh yeah:: (1.1) so.

In the initial orientation section, Damien gives an evaluative account of the circumstances of his childhood. The use of negations (Lines 3, 5-7, 10, 13, 24-25) is an internal evaluation strategy (Labov, 1972; Toolan, 1988). Expressions of negation evaluate a situation indirectly by alluding to what might have been, what could be, but what did not happen. Therefore, the implication is that the teller had an idealised view of his childhood because the negations suggest that he missed out on having a pet at home. Thus, this initial orientation section is evaluative and conveys significance for the teller's emotions.

There are also ongoing orientations throughout the narrative. For example, in line 40, Damien describes the fish he bought in the market.

39	Damien	.h so:: <we bought> (1.4) uh:m (0.5) tsk these two fish.

```
40 →    Damien      one was uh (0.4) goldfish, an' one was one of those little
                    black (1.0) ones with the googily [eyes.
41      Emma                                          [yes eye [thing.
42      Damien                                                 [e he he .hh he
                    he.
43 →    Damien      so: (.) you kno:w, they are in their plastic ba:g an' (.) >it
                    was just freaky< (.) taking them home (.) you know, in a
                    plastic ba:g¿ >it felt as though< .hhh (.) i was just
                    paranoid that it was gonna leak
                    [an' they were just gonna die in the
44      Emma        [yeah:::.
        Damien      [plastic ba:g¿ an' be trapped.
45      Emma        [yeah::.
46      Emma        how were you going home (.) like (.) in a car:?
47      Damien      yeah, in a car.
48 →    Damien      so (.) you know, from croydon (0.7) it was a bit of a drive
                    in a half-hour drive.
49      Emma        °hmm.°
50                  (0.9)
```

The teller lets the recipient know the background details in which the story takes place, i.e. the type of fish (line 40). He also explains that the fish were in a plastic bag (line 43) and that it took half an hour to get home from Croydon (line 48).

The complicating actions are introduced by external evaluation at the time of the events (lines 30-31, 33-34). These are ongoing evaluations. With these utterances Damien justifies himself in buying goldfish.

```
29      Damien      .hhh yeah:: (1.1) so.
30 →    Damien      .hh but then for some reason we:: (0.5) decided to get (.)
                    fish.
31 →    Damien      like (.) we thought (0.8) oh yeah we can handle fish (.)
                    >'cause you don't really have to look after them.<
32                  (0.9)
33 →    Damien      maybe that was part of the reason.
34 →    Damien      .hhh (.) 'cause we just (1.3) you know (.) were too lazy to
                    look after a (.) >dog or a cat or something.<
35                  (0.4)
36      Damien      tsk (0.6) so we went to the croydon (.) we were at croydon
                    market¿
37      Damien      an' i just (.) y'know, °for° some reason we saw all these
                    fish an' thought ↑ha: you know (.) >it would be really good
                    if we got fish.<
38                  (1.0)
39 →    Damien      .h so:: <we bought> (1.4) uh:m (0.5) tsk these two fish.
40      Damien      one was uh (0.4) goldfish, an' one was one of those little
                    black (1.0) ones with the googily [eyes.
41      Emma                                          [yes eye [thing.
42      Damien                                                 [e he he .hh he
                    he.
43 →    Damien      so: (.) you kno:w, they are in their plastic ba:g an' (.) >it
                    was just freaky< (.) taking them home (.) you know, in a
                    plastic ba:g¿ >it felt as though< .hhh (.) i was just
                    paranoid that it was gonna leak
                    [an' they were just gonna die in the
44      Emma        [yeah:::.
        Damien      [plastic ba:g¿ an' be trapped.
45      Emma        [yeah::.
```

From there on, every action at each point in the narrative comes with evaluation. In other words, the narrative actions themselves express an evaluative perspective. For example, Damien says *we bought these two fish* (line 39) and provides an explanation for how he felt at the time: *it was just freaky taking them home in a plastic bag... I was just paranoid that it was gonna leak* (line 43).

The resolution section lets the recipient know what happened in the end.

```
69      Damien          .hh uhm (.) bert be:ing the black googily-eyed one (.) °ernie
                        being (1.5) the goldfish.°
70                      (1.2)
71      Emma            mm::::.
72                      (1.0)
73  →   Damien          uh::m (.) i think they lived for about (.) two weeks.
74      Damien          a ha.
75      Damien          .hh (.) i don't really remem[ber.
76      Emma                                        [why did they die.
```

In line 73, Damien says *I think they lived for about two weeks*. Following this, an explicit final evaluation (lines 117-118) in the resolution section justifies the narrative as worthy of being reported.

```
114     Emma            you weren't using a lot of fly
                        spra[ys or anything to get rid of- a ha.
115     Damien              [a ha (0.4) that's what i've thought about (.) since i've
                        learned more about (0.8) what kills them.
116                     (1.2)
117     Damien          you know (.) >i was like< (.) we- we liked them for the first
                        week but then we just lost interest anyway, so >it was like
                        oh well they are dead< (0.5) we felt kind of bad about it but
                        (2.1) <that's it.>
118     Damien          °no more fishies.°
119                     (0.5)
120     Damien          so that was our best (0.4) pet experiment.
121                     (4.6)
122     Emma            an' then you had birds?
123     Damien          .hhh yeah:::::: (0.8) my:::: °>i think it was my<° my
                        grandmother had a budgie¿....
 ((the first story is over))
```

That is, the teller is commenting on the narrative directly to the listener and indicating the point of the story. It seems that the teller is demonstrating why the events recounted in the story are reportable. Finally, the teller wraps up the story with the

optional coda in line 120. With line 120 Damien returns Emma to the present time. The *goldfish* story is over, and a second story is requested (line 122).

Therefore, this story fits the Labovian framework.

2.5.4 mum (A7)

Prior to this segment, Zebulon has been complaining about his mother's failure to show credulity. Penelope matches that experience with a story from her own repertoire (Goffman, 1974: 510). Penelope attempts to top the previous story by sharing a story based on a similar experience. In other words, this is a second story.

1	Zebulon	she didn't believe me that maay foot was stra:ined.
2		(0.8)
3	Zebulon	she took me to: th' doctor after that.
4	Zebulon	she's going THERE'D BETTER BE SOMETHING WRONG WITH YOU BO::Y.
5	Zebulon	ha.
6		(0.5)
7	Zebulon	took (.) takes me in.
8		(0.7)
9	Zebulon	uh:::: (.) gets me to have an x-ray an' find out my foot was broken in about (.) five places.
10	Penelope	oh:: my go:d.
11	Zebulon	ha:.
12	Penelope	an' wh- what about your friend.
13	Penelope	did he have a sore foot, too?
14	Zebulon	no:: unfortunately.
15	Penelope	yeah a ha.=
16	Zebulon	=ha.
17	Zebulon	i was the one who copped the worst of it.
18	Penelope	i'll bet.
19	Zebulon	hmm (1.0) so yeah::.
Abstract		
20	Penelope	yeah, my mum did that (0.4) well (.) sort of did that to me once.
21	Penelope	this is a pret- pretty bad story actually.
22	Penelope	HA.
Orientation		
23	Penelope	.hh i:: a- couple of years ago i went to a party an' i hadn't had any dinner (0.6) uh::m (.) 'cause i'd- (.) i'd- (.) go:ne with a friend to her: (.) mum's house (0.9) an' >played monopoly with her an' my little sister until eleven o'clock at night.<
24	Penelope	so my friend an' i went to this party an' i was SO::: (.) hungry 'cause i hadn't had any dinner.
Complicating actions		
25	Penelope	.hh >an' i went in there an' there was this< (1.0) couple of pieces of this rea::lly yummy-looking chocolate cake °at the party° an' i went ((grunts)) "OH GREAT".
26	Penelope	.hh so .hh >you know< (.) munched down this piece of chocolate cake.
27	Penelope	it was really yummy.
28	Zebulon	ha:.=
29	Penelope	=there was this guy standing there going .hh "mm:: (.) chocolate cake's got (.) <flo::wer .hh an' (.) chocolate (.) an' (.) water in it¿>"
30	Penelope	an'=
31	Zebulon	=what was he:
32		(0.4)
33	Penelope	yeah.

33a	Zebulon	a bit,
34	Penelope	n- no [i- i just thought-
34a	Zebulon	[allergy or-
35	Penelope	okay yeah.
36	Zebulon	ha [ha. ha ha ha. ha.
37	Penelope	[thanks for that.
38	Penelope	sort of kept eating thinking (.) what a dickhead.
39	Zebulon	ha [ha.
40	Penelope	[an' (0.8) an' i looked at the last piece an' i thought n- oh no i'd better leave it for somebody else.
41		(1.1)
42	Penelope	.hh 'cause i was still pretty hungry.
43	Penelope	about half an hour later i was standing out in the garden.
44		(1.0)
45	Penelope	.hh an' (.) it was- actually a dress-up party.
46	Penelope	it was- go as (.) something that your mother wouldn't (.) approve of.
47	Penelope	an' .hh an' i went as a prostitute.
48	Penelope	a ha >anyway it doesn't matter.<
49	Zebulon	ha.
50	Penelope	a ha.
51	Zebulon	ha ha.
52	Penelope	yeah.
53	Zebulon	pro::stitu::te.
54	Penelope	a ha.
55	Penelope	well [except that- except that i went to mum's house.
56	Zebulon	[a ha ha. ha ha.
57	Penelope	an' i said "well i thought i'd go as a prostitute (.) because you wouldn't approve of that".
58	Penelope	an' she said "*eeh no that doesn't matter*".
59	Penelope	.hhh a ha.
60	Penelope	anyway: (.) so: (.) we went to this party an' i was standing outside.
61		(1.4)
Complicating actions (crisis)		
62	Penelope	all of a sudden (0.3) i felt (0.3) really sto:ned.
63	Penelope	an' (.) i don't smoke marijuana 'cause i don't like it.
64	Penelope	.hhh an' (.) but i had- you know i knew what the feeling was.
65	Penelope	an' i stood there an' i'm like "AH::::::: (.) ↑AH:::::".
66	Zebulon	°ha [ha.°
67	Penelope	[i started screa::ming at the top of my lungs.
68	Penelope	"↑oh my fucking god".
69	Penelope	"↑i'm fucking sto:ned".
70	Penelope	".hh ↑i hate being sto::ned".
71	Penelope	.hh an' i was screaming an' people [were turning-
72	Zebulon	[so you were trying to hide it (0.6) °in other words.°
73	Zebulon	ha ha, [ha ha.
74	Penelope	[yeah, no (.) i was like (.) freaking ↑out (.) because i didn't know what was happening to me.=
75	Zebulon	=ye[ah.
76	Penelope	[you know, i thought "how on earth am i sto:ned".
77	Penelope	.hh an' i realised it must have been this (.) chocolate cake (.) h- hash cake.
78	Zebulon	ha ha ha [ha.
79	Penelope	[.hh an' i'm- i'm (.) you know (.) freaking out (.) like (0.5) going "OH:::: WHAT AM I GONNA DO:: (.) WHAT AM I GONNA DO".
Complicating actions (major climax)		
80	Penelope	.h an' (.) i w- so (.) i go:: to the phone.
81	Penelope	an' i ring mum.
82	Penelope	it's about midnight.
83	Zebulon	°ha ha.°
84	Penelope	my stepfather is away somewhere.
85	Penelope	.hh an' i say, "mu::m mu::m .hh i've accidentally eaten hash cake, i'm really sto:ned, a::::".
86	Penelope	.hh an' she's like (.) "uhm (.) tsk oh mm nn eeh yeah okay".
87	Penelope	an' she (.) you know, she's woken up.
88	Penelope	an' i said .hh "mu:m, can you come an' collect me: i can't dri:ve".
89	Penelope	an' i w- you know (.) other side of canberra from her.
90	Penelope	an' she said, "tsk .hh oh penny .hh i'm really tired you know".
91	Penelope	.hh [an'-
92	Zebulon	[how old were you?
93		(1.8)
94	Penelope	twenty.
95	Zebulon	°about twenty.°=
96	Penelope	=twenty-one.
97	Zebulon	okay, [it's not that long ago.

98 Penelope [yeah, yeah that's right.
99 Penelope .h uhm (0.8) a:n' (0.3) an' she said, "tsk look at (.) an inanimate object".
100 Penelope an' i went, "okay:".
101 Penelope an' she said, "does it move?"
102 Penelope i said "no".
103 Penelope she said "okay you're right to drive then".
104 Penelope a ha ha oh my god (.) [oh yeah
105 Zebulon [ha ha wha:::t?
105a Penelope [an' sort of said-
106 Zebulon [ha ha ha (.) responsibility.
107 Penelope ha ha yeah.
108 Penelope "thanks".
109 Zebulon ha ha.
110 Penelope "by:::e".

Complicating actions (minor climax)

111 Penelope a ha ha ha (.) like (.) hang up the pho:ne, .hh sort of grab my friend.
112 Penelope an' she didn't have her driver's licence.
113 Penelope >she still doesn't actually.<
114 Penelope .hh an' like, "oka::y, we've gotta go".
115 (0.4)
116 Penelope .hh an' i get in the car::.
117 Penelope .hh my eyes popping out of my hea:d.
118 Penelope an' i'm sort of mounting the curb an' (.) driving REALLY slowly like a (.) grandma: all the way home with my friend saying "it's oka::y, it's oka::y".

Resolution/Evaluation

119 Penelope .hh an'- an' (.) so (.) she stays the night with me.
120 Penelope an' uh:: (1.0) an' i wake up in the morning an' mum rings.
121 Penelope an' she said "tsk oh darling i'm so sorry if anything had ever happened to you i'd never've (.) forgiven myself".
122 Penelope nyee.
123 Penelope .hh YEAH:: WELL, YOU SAY THAT NO::W. ((deep and gruff))
124 Zebulon °ha ha.°
125 Penelope ha.

Coda

126 Penelope .hh i was (.) yeah, i- that's a [bit a-
127 Zebulon [°responsible parenting.°
128 Penelope that's [right, yeah, it's a bit of a (.) mum (.) classic
129 Zebulon [a ha ha. a ha. ha.
129a Penelope actually.
130 Penelope "no i'm too ti:red".
131 Zebulon °a ha ha.°
132 Penelope "just d- yeah- drunk- drive home drunk darling, you'll be right".
133 Penelope u hu hu.
((tape turned off))

- Abstract/Orientation

Penelope's abstract appears after Zebulon's story is completed (line 20). With the abstract, she summarises the point of the following narrative, transitioning to the second story. Penelope thinks that the story is bad (line 21) for a number of reasons. First, she got stoned and was high on drugs (line 62). Second, her mother did not act in a very motherly fashion so that it makes her look uncaring (line 90). In line 23, Penelope discloses an initial problem as well as an orientation. Penelope and her friend go to a party. Having played Monopoly until eleven o'clock at night, they get very hungry.

- Complicating actions

Penelope then presents complicating actions (lines 25-26) and evaluation (line 27). It took about half an hour for the drug to work so that she had no idea about the chocolate cake. Line 40 discloses Penelope's attitude towards the chocolate cake. Line 43 describes temporal and spatial information. Penelope is recounting what happened in a chronological order. Then she suspends the action and provides background information (lines 45, 47) and evaluation (line 46). It is a theme party.

- Complicating actions (crisis)

The crisis (lines 62, 65, 67-70) consists of events that occurred prior to the climax of the story. All of a sudden Penelope feels stoned and starts screaming. This passage serves to provide situational explanation before introducing her mother into the story. This situation can be described as one in which Penelope is stoned. She has one friend there who cannot drive, and knows that she has to get them home safely. An explicit form of evaluation is presented in lines 74, 76 and 79 in which Penelope states that she is freaking out. Line 77 is a punch line. Penelope realises that the chocolate cake had something in it that made her stoned. The crisis is characterised by the use of prosodic features (line 79 in the transcript). She is reenacting the scene with a loud voice, creating a dramatic effect (cf. Wolfson, 1982).

- Complicating actions (major climax)

Penelope rings her mother (lines 80-81). This is the major climax. The subsequent passage introduces temporal and situational information (lines 82, 84). The conversation between Penelope and her mother is represented in the form of direct reported speech, creating a feeling of being on the spot (lines 85-86, 88, 90). The conversational exchange between Penelope and her mother continues (lines 99-103). One can see that Penelope's mother does not want to come out. Lines 104-

105a represent a sophisticated evaluation in which Penelope discloses various feelings: reaction, reflection and opinion. In talking to Zebulon, Penelope is enriching the picture that she is giving to him. She tells him how she was feeling, "oh my God, I can't believe you just said I'm right to drive then" (line 104).

- Complicating actions (minor climax)

In lines 111, 114, 116 and 118, Penelope relates the minor climax in which she attempts to drive home drunk with her friend. One can see that she was afraid of having an accident. Lines 112, 113 and 117 relate to descriptions of Penelope's friend. Negation in line 112 informs the listener of personal expectations that were held but not met in the situation (Peterson and McCabe, 1983: 223).

- Resolution/Evaluation

The rest of the story consists of resolution (lines 119-120) and evaluation (lines 121, 123). Penelope is critical of her mother. This is an instance of "performed narrative" (cf. Goffman, 1974: 503), allowing the listener to re-experience the events that took place and thereby making him/her share the perspective of the teller. Generally, when one tells a story he/she does not remember the exact words. Furthermore, when one is telling a funny story he/she often exaggerates something. Although Penelope did say something at the time, it is possible that she is making up these words spontaneously in line 123. Penelope stops the narrative to provide external evaluation in line 128.

The structure of the story is represented as follows:

Table 9: *mum* (A7)

Abstract	Penelope's mother did that to her once.
Orientation	Penelope goes to a dress-up party; Penelope is hungry because she has not had any dinner; Penelope plays Monopoly with her friend and her little sister until eleven o'clock at night.
Complicating actions	Penelope munches down a piece of chocolate cake.

Complicating actions (crisis)	All of a sudden Penelope feels really stoned; Penelope freaks out.
Complicating actions (major climax)	Penelope rings her mother; Penelope's mother does not want to come out.
Complicating actions (minor climax)	Penelope drives slowly all the way home.
Resolution/ Evaluation	Penelope's mother rings in the morning and apologises.
Coda	It is a mum classic.

The *mum* story follows a chronological development of events in the following order: an orientation, complicating actions, resolution and evaluation. These four categories are what Labov calls obligatory components in a narrative. The story also contains the optional abstract component. Thus, the story has a complete narrative structure consistent with the Labovian framework.

The abstract (line 20), which summarises central action and main point of the story, is accompanied by an external evaluation (line 21).

```
19      Zebulon     hmm (1.0) so yeah::.
20 →    Penelope    yeah, my mum did that (0.4) well (.) sort of did that to me
                    once.
21 →    Penelope    this is a pret- pretty bad story actually.
22      Penelope    HA.
```

With these utterances Penelope begins to tell a second story.

The story contains a succinct initial orientation as well as ongoing orientations, all of which are also succinct. Lines 23 and 24 represent the initial orientation where Penelope orients the listener to what is to follow.

```
22      Penelope    HA.
23 →    Penelope    .hh i:: a- couple of years ago i went to a party an' i hadn't
                    had any dinner (0.6) uh::m (.) 'cause i'd- (.) i'd- (.) go:ne
                    with a friend to her: (.) mum's house (0.9) an' >played
                    monopoly with her an' my little sister until eleven o'clock
                    at night.<
```

24 →	Penelope	so my friend an' i went to this party an' i was SO::: (.) hungry 'cause i hadn't had any dinner.
25	Penelope	.hh >an' i went in there an' there was this< (1.0) couple of pieces of this rea::lly yummy-looking chocolate cake °at the party° an' i went ((grunts)) "OH GREAT".

This section contains two TCUs. In this initial orientation, the fact that Penelope and her friend went to a theme party and got hungry is expressed in line 23, followed by a logical connective *so* as in *so my friend and I went to this party and I was so hungry because I hadn't had any dinner* (line 24). This sums up the initial orientation section. Because the initial orientation section is brief, complicating actions come fairly early on in the story. Consequently, the story is quite short.

As for the ongoing orientations, they occur whenever something needs filling out. Here is an example.

111	Penelope	a ha ha ha (.) like (.) hang up the pho:ne, .hh sort of grab my friend.
112 →	Penelope	an' she didn't have her driver's licence.
113 →	Penelope	>she still doesn't actually.<
114	Penelope	.hh an' like, "oka::y, we've gotta go".

In lines 112 and 113, Penelope explains that her friend did not have her driver's licence. This information is crucial in this context as Penelope had no choice but to drive home even though she was drunk.

There are many actions in the complicating action section. Penelope signals the beginning of the complicating action with *and I went in there* in line 25.

24	Penelope	so my friend an' i went to this party an' i was SO::: (.) hungry 'cause i hadn't had any dinner.
25 →	Penelope	.hh >an' i went in there an' there was this< (1.0) couple of pieces of this rea::lly yummy-looking chocolate cake °at the party° an' i went ((grunts)) "OH GREAT".
26	Penelope	.hh so .hh >you know< (.) munched down this piece of chocolate cake.
27	Penelope	it was really yummy.

From there on a series of temporally ordered events unfold: the crisis *all of a sudden I felt really stoned* (line 62), the major climax *she said "okay you're right to drive then"* (line 103), a minor climax and *I'm sort of mounting the curb and driving really slowly like a grandma all the way home* (line 118).

```
60      Penelope        anyway: (.) so: (.) we went to this party an' i was standing
                        outside.
61                      (1.4)
62 →    Penelope        all of a sudden (0.3) i felt (0.3) really sto:ned.
63      Penelope        an' (.) i don't smoke marijuana 'cause i don't like it.
64      Penelope        .hhh an' (.) but i had- you know i knew what the feeling was.

((lines deleted))

99      Penelope        .h uhm (0.8) a:n' (0.3) an' she said, "tsk look at (.) an
                        inanimate object".
100     Penelope        an' i went, "okay:".
101     Penelope        an' she said, "does it move?"
102     Penelope        i said "no".
103 →   Penelope        she said "okay you're right to drive then".
104     Penelope        a ha ha oh my god (.) [oh yeah
105     Zebulon                               [ha ha wha:::t?
105a    Penelope        [an' sort of said-
106     Zebulon         [ha ha ha (.) responsibility.

((lines deleted))

116     Penelope        .hh an' i get in the car::.
117     Penelope        .hh my eyes popping out of my hea:d.
118 →   Penelope        an' i'm sort of mounting the curb an' (.) driving REALLY
                        slowly like a (.) grandma: all the way home with my friend
                        saying "it's oka::y, it's oka::y".
```

The resolution section (lines 119-121), which comes after the complicating actions, explains what happened in the end.

```
119 →   Penelope        .hh an'- an' (.) so (.) she stays the night with me.
120 →   Penelope        an' uh:: (1.0) an' i wake up in the morning an' mum rings.
121 →   Penelope        an' she said "tsk oh darling i'm so sorry if anything had
                        ever happened to you i'd never've (.) forgiven myself".
122     Penelope        nyee.
```

With these utterances Penelope assures the listener that she arrived home safely.

One constraint on narratives is that they describe reportable events: events which are unusual or morally consequential (Linde, 1993). This means that stories need to be managed by way of some explicit evaluation or explanation of the

actions/events in the narrative. There are ongoing evaluations as well as an explicit final evaluation in this story. Penelope uses various kinds of evaluation devices, including both external and internal evaluation. Here is an example.

```
62      Penelope        all of a sudden (0.3) i felt (0.3) really sto:ned.
63 →    Penelope        an' (.) i don't smoke marijuana 'cause i don't like it.
64 →    Penelope        .hhh an' (.) but i had- you know i knew what the feeling was.
65 →    Penelope        an' i stood there an' i'm like "AH::::::: (.) ↑AH:::::".
66      Zebulon         °ha [ha.°
67      Penelope            [i started screa::ming at the top of my lungs.
```

In lines 63 and 64, Penelope provides an external evaluation where she steps aside and expresses an evaluation of the event. In line 65, Penelope replays the scene and allows the listener to re-experience the events that took place by adopting a different speaking style, i.e. loud, excited voice. This kind of performance feature resembles those discussed by Labov as an example of internal evaluation.

There is evidence that Penelope initiates an explicit final evaluation of the story in line 123. Penelope also produces a coda in line 126, which gets cut off due to Zebulon's overlapping talk in line 127. She reproduces the coda in line 128, and Zebulon accepts that remark by laughing in line 129.

```
123 →   Penelope        .hh YEAH:: WELL, YOU SAY THAT NO::W. ((deep and gruff))
124     Zebulon         °ha ha.°
125     Penelope        ha.
126 →   Penelope        .hh i was (.) yeah, i- that's a [bit a-
127     Zebulon                                         [°responsible parenting.°
128 →   Penelope        that's [right, yeah, it's a bit of a (.) mum (.) classic
129     Zebulon                [a ha ha.  a ha.  ha.
129a    Penelope        actually.
```

In this section of the story, then, the teller provides an evaluation as well as indicates closure. Through the evaluation, the teller presents the point of the story, fulfilling the

criterion of reportability, i.e. describing events which are unusual or morally consequential (Linde, 1993).

Therefore, this story fits the Labovian framework.

2.5.5 Overall discussion

The preceding subsections examined the structural aspects of three Australian stories in light of the framework of story structure proposed by Labov. The analysis not only focused on obligatory/non-obligatory components of stories, but also revealed interesting characteristics of Australian stories in terms of orientation and evaluation components. This subsection synthesises the findings of the preceding subsections and gives a picture of what Australian stories look like.

The Australian stories (*hitchhiking* (A1), *mum* (A7)) are characterised by having (i) a short initial orientation plus succinct ongoing orientations, (ii) complicating actions, (iii) resolution and (iv) ongoing evaluations plus a final evaluation. According to Labov, these four components are obligatory in a well-formed narrative. Although these obligatory components are also present in *goldfish* (A3), the narrator in this story gives a detailed initial orientation and detailed ongoing orientations, in contrast to A1 and A7. The optional abstract component is found in two stories (A1, A7), while the other optional coda component is present in one story (A3). There is always an explicit final evaluation on the part of the narrators (A1, A3, A7) who explicitly provide a point of the story as a whole. The narrators also insert ongoing evaluations throughout the narrative as needs be. Some ongoing evaluative remarks reflect the narrator's points of explanation/justification for each aspect of the situation, actions or events (A3). For this subsection, I will explore the ways in which Australian stories are put together.

In the Australian stories, A1 and A7, both initial and ongoing orientations are found to be succinct. In fact, the initial orientation section may be limited to presentation of essential information necessary to understand the context of what is occurring within the story itself (A7). The ongoing orientations are also made succinctly (A1, A7). However, in one story (A3), the initial orientation is detailed and evaluative. That is, the narrator goes beyond a simple account of a behavioural situation and attributes evaluative remarks to himself in discussing ongoing or repetitive behaviour. Likewise, there are quite a few ongoing orientations in this story (A3), some of which are detailed. Thus detailed orientations may include an evaluative perspective on the situation being described.

When this pattern of orientation is associated with the narrators' evaluation strategies, what becomes evident is the significance of the evaluation sections in the Australian stories. One could argue that evaluation devices are used in narratives to show things from the narrator's viewpoint and according to his/her perspective rather than merely telling the facts. A narrator thus tells a story and provides various signals about how the things he/she is talking about should be seen, felt, understood and evaluated by the recipient.

The Australians have a particular way of evaluating their stories at the end. The narrators provide explicit final evaluations which contribute to the point of the narrative as a whole (A1, A3, A7). One narrator (A1) further indicates at the end of the story that she learned something from the experience, imparting to the listener some important moral lesson. Overall, I call this "teller evaluations" in that it is marked by the narrator's explanation of the actions/events in stories as the obligatory element in shaping the narrative.

It thus seems fair to conclude that Australian narrators regard evaluation as an indispensable factor in storytelling. It is always the tellers who explicitly state the point of telling the story. This is a reflection of the "teller evaluations" favoured by the Australian participants.

2.6 Comparison of Japanese and Australian stories

The previous sections examined the oral narratives of Japanese and Australian participants. In the same way that one finds enormous variations in language practices throughout the world, one must be prepared for broad variations in narration — both in its existence and in what counts as a well-formed story. In this section, I will discuss the findings of the previous sections and address issues concerning cross-cultural styles of narration, with the following key points:

(a) structural analysis of the narrative texts suggests that, with a few exceptions, stories told by Japanese and Australian participants basically conform to the Labovian framework;

(b) Japanese narrators start with the details (initial orientation) often combined with a lot of background information (ongoing orientations) along the way; and

(c) Australian narrators seem to evaluate the point of the story more explicitly than Japanese narrators.

Through structural analyses of narratives produced by both Japanese and Australian participants, a general conclusion is that Japanese and Australian narratives are similar in structure. Table 10 shows the structural components of each story. With the exception of J1 and J5, the stories contain all the structural components (orientation, complicating actions, resolution and evaluation) which Labov considers

essential in a narrative. In other words, a final evaluation is missing in J1 and J5.

Here I shall briefly summarise the structure of the narratives in the corpus.

Table 10: The structure of Japanese and Australian narratives

J1	^AB^OR^CA^CA(crisis)^CA(major climax)^CA(minor climax)^RE^CO
J3	^OR^CA^CA(crisis)^CA(climax)^RE^EV
J5	^OR^CA^CA(crisis)^CA(climax)^RE
A1	episode 1 - ^OR^CA^RE^EV episode 2 - ^AB^OR^CA^RE^EV
A3	^OR^CA^RE^EV^CO
A7	^AB^OR^CA^CA(crisis)^CA(major climax)^CA(minor climax)^RE^EV^CO

An abstract encapsulates a short summary of the narrative. That is, it gives a reason for telling the story or for the recipient to listen (J1, A7).

There is an orientation section, which gives information about the time, place, persons, activity and situation needed to make sense of the story. Technically, anything having to do with background information and knowledge necessary to link story elements would be orientations, regardless of where they occur. Describing an orientation as something that happens at the beginning of a story misses the point — an orientation may happen whenever something needs "filling out" to create a whole picture of the place, the characters, the events or the meaning. Specifically, the orientation may include a detailed description of an object (e.g. in J1, Teruyo describes in many words (lines 85-99) what the motorcycle looks like), relevant background information (e.g. in J5, Hiroki reconstructs the content of his ad (lines 15, 27) or an ongoing situation which will be disrupted when the story begins (e.g. in A3, Damien explains the circumstances of his childhood (lines 3, 5-7, 10, 13, 24-25).

The main body of the narrative consists of narrative clauses describing the events of the story. There are complicating actions, which in many stories (J1, J3, J5, A7) culminate in crises and climaxes. The complicating actions indicate a disruption

of the equilibrium indicated by the orientation, setting in motion a series of events which will later reach a new equilibrium. Although Labov (1972) does not mention crises or climaxes, they are the parts which intensify the problem created by the initial complicating action.

The resolution (J1, J3, J5, A1, A3, A7) specifies the outcome of the events. It answers the question: "what happened?"

The narratives are interwoven with evaluative material, which provides evaluative comments relating the events to the narrator's point (J3, A1, A3, A7). According to Labov, evaluation is an obligatory component in a narrative. Some Japanese narrators (J1, J5), however, leave a final evaluation of the story to the recipient.

There is a closing section, a coda, which echoes the abstract and provides an overall encapsulation of the story (J1, A3, A7). The coda closes off the narrative sequence by returning to the present time.

Thus, story structures have a great deal in common between the two languages. No matter what form the actual description of the events takes, it seems easier for narrators to use a precise structure as a way to describe personal experiences. What one does when one tells a story, in any form, is to make meaning out of it or to make sense of it and to bring that story into the context of one's life. A narrative has the capacity to transfer the experience of the narrator to the recipient.

While some parallel can be found in Japanese and Australian English narratives in terms of the structure, there also appear to be some interesting characteristics between the two languages. Although it is difficult to conclude and generalise from such a small sample, Table 11 shows differences between Japanese

and Australian speakers in their ways of presenting orientations and evaluations in the stories here.

Table 11: Initial orientations and final evaluations in Japanese and Australian stories

	J1	J3	J5	A1	A3	A7
initial orientation	detailed	Detailed	detailed	succinct	detailed	succinct
final evaluation	listener	Teller	listener	teller	teller	teller

In his study of oral storytelling among native English speakers, Plum (1988) found orientations of very variable length — sometimes long and sometimes not. In what follows, I will discuss the implications of this observation.

The Japanese narrators (J1, J3, J5) spend a great deal of time on orientation sections, especially at the start of the story, presenting the background information in detail. In Japanese stories, background details are accumulated as the teller steps aside and put the pieces together. In particular, J1 stands out as having minute details of an object (motorcycle). I posit that Japanese narrators provide the recipient with a detailed description of the background to have the complicating actions appreciated properly by the recipient. In other words, it looks as if the Japanese narrators include many details in their stories to indicate that their experiences were unique and that detailed background information could help the recipient understand the storytellers' circumstances.

As mentioned before, Tannen (1989) claims that details in a story enable the audience to construct images and scene. Furthermore, Tannen (1989: 137-138) suggests that "images are more convincing and more memorable than abstract propositions", because "images provide internal evaluation: they lead hearers to draw the conclusion favoured by the speaker". In this connection, it is important to note here that some Japanese stories (J1, J5) are characterised by an inclusion of detailed

orientations without explicit evaluations of the narrators' experiences at the end of the story. The implication is that the understanding of the "point" may be achieved through detailed descriptions of places and time and objects, resulting in the recipient's evaluation of the story. In other words, there seems to be some sort of connection between orientations and evaluations in Japanese stories.

In contrast, some Australian narrators (A1, A7) give a brief introduction to the story, limiting their focus to essential information. As a result, succinct orientation enables the narrators to proceed to the complicating actions fairly early on in the story. However, in one story (A3), there is a detailed initial orientation and detailed ongoing orientations characterised by the narrator's evalautive perspective. Overall, the examples (A1, A3, A7) show that the pattern of the orientation component differs from one story to another in Australian stories.

Another significant finding of this chapter is the observation that Japanese and Australian participants evaluate their stories differently. One of the most difficult yet essential concepts in narrative analysis is reportability. When people tell stories about their personal experiences, they usually have a live audience which influences what kind of stories are told, and when and how they are told. Telling a narrative requires a person to occupy more social space than in other conversational exchanges (Sacks, 1992). To hold the floor longer, the narrative must carry enough interest for the audience to justify this action. Otherwise, an implicit or explicit "so what?" is in order, with the implication that the narrator has violated social norms by making this unjustified claim (Labov, 1972). The difficulty is that there is no absolute standard of inherent interest. Tellers must somehow judge the relevance and noteworthiness of a story. What is new enough? What is sufficiently interesting or important to warrant a story, and how much is required on which details? Who wants/needs to know?

In this connection, Schiffrin (1994) discusses the intersubjective nature of telling a story in English. She argues that a story is a reconstruction of an experience, told at a specific time, in a specific place, to a specific audience, thus evaluation pervades the process of situating the experience in "the here and how, the why, and the whom" of its telling (p. 307). This applies as much to the Japanese evaluations — it is just that a different form of intersubjectivity is required. By "intersubjectivity" I mean the process in which storytellers accumulate meanings throughout narratives.

The examples show that Japanese stories end with a resolution (J1, J5) and a coda (J1). In other words, in these stories, the tellers cap off their stories without providing the story's point. The lack of such an explicit evaluation on the part of the teller leads the listener to draw the evaluation favoured by the teller. This means that evaluation gets interactively pursued by listeners and tellers. I have suggested that Japanese tellers may leave the point of the story unstated because detailed orientations as well as ongoing evaluations should be sufficient for listeners to infer the teller's perspective by the end of the story.

In Australian stories (A1, A3, A7), however, the endings are explicitly evaluated by the teller. On a related note, an Australian narrator (A3) alternates between sequences describing actions/events and evaluations throughout the narrative. In this sense, the need to illustrate the point of the story appears to be greater for the Australian speakers.

The relevance and noteworthiness of the topic will be enhanced when storytellers evaluate their stories. The data have shown that evaluation is more prevalent in Australian stories than in Japanese stories. That is, explicit forms of final evaluation always occur in Australian narratives. Furthermore, the Australian narrator (A3) may continually analyse the ongoing context of the narrative. In Japanese

storytelling (J1, J5), on the other hand, it looks as if the story's success is based on the enjoyment of sharing one's experience with the other person in an environment which allows mutual evaluation of the story (cf. Strauss and Kawanishi, 1996).

Overall, then, the Japanese narrators give detailed orientations and let the recipient evaluate the actions/events described in the story. In contrast, the Australian narrators provide succinct orientations and explicitly state the point of the story in the end. Thus Australian storytelling appears to have a straightforward style without many details, whereas Japanese participants embed their stories within the context of telling about objects, the people involved and the things going on. As a result, what the Japanese storyteller believes is the point of the story or the results of the experiences described in the story is resolved interactionally by the recipient (J1, J5). This is how these people do it, here, unproblematically.

In this regard, I have suggested a contrast between "recipient prompted evaluations" versus "teller evaluations", applicable to the Japanese and Australian participants, respectively. With the "recipient prompted evaluations", the role of listener is active in demonstrating understanding of the point being made by the narrator. In the "teller evaluations", on the other hand, it is the narrator who explicitly states the point of the story throughout and at the end of the narration process.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter examined the structural components of Japanese and Australian stories. The data have shown that both Japanese and Australian stories basically conform to the structural framework outlined by Labov. Regardless of individual variations, the stories contain an orientation, complicating actions (which in many stories culminate in crises and climaxes), resolution and evaluation components.

There may be no final evaluations in some Japanese stories. There are instead detailed orientations which lead the recipient to construct evaluations unstated by the teller. Japanese storytelling is thus characterised by "recipient prompted evaluations" where the role of listener is important. The Australian participants, on the other hand, spontaneously illustrate the point of the story. For this reason, Australian storytelling may be associated with "teller evaluations" where the narrator's explicit evaluation of the actions and events in stories is a crucial aspect of shaping the narrative as a whole.

In this chapter, the analysis of storytelling in the two languages consisted mainly of an examination of the narrator's role in constructing the narrative. While it is true that during the telling of a story one speaker generally gains control of the floor, it is also true that the listener's role may be a relatively active one (Duranti, 1986; C. Goodwin, 1986a). Stories can thus be analysed as interactive achievements involving both the narrator and the recipient to differing extents. The next chapter will focus on the organisation of story initiation by both the narrator and the recipient.

Chapter 3

The organisation of story initiation

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 discussed the structural components of stories. This chapter examines the different aspects of story initiation in Japanese and Australian English. It will be shown that story initiation differs markedly between Japanese and Australian participants.

Storytelling is an interactional activity. The normal way to tell a story is where the teller prepares the listener for the fact that there is more than one TCU to come (Sacks et al., 1974). The listener then knows that a story is going to be told and that because it is difficult to finish a story in a single TCU, there is the expectation that there will be more than one TCU. There are also times when a person requests to hear a story, as in sociolinguistic interviews. Furthermore, a story may trigger a second story from another participant in everyday conversation. In the next section, I will review these different ways of introducing a story into a conversation in the following order: (i) recipient-initiated, (ii) speaker-initiated and (iii) second stories.

3.2 Different ways in which stories get initiated

"Recipient-initiated" stories occur in response to a question by the participant who then becomes the recipient (Labov, 1972; Schiffrin, 1997). The story recipient directs the theme of the story by asking the storyteller theme-defining questions. That is, there is questioning from the recipient to prompt the teller, and to give the teller the floor. In this way, an overt request for telling a narrative automatically hands the floor to the prospective teller. This linguistic behaviour shapes the production of stories in

conversation into a particular format. That is, the recipient's utterance characteristically appears to provide materials to be incorporated by the teller into the story, though the degree of extension of this initial provision may vary considerably.

It is important to note here that the data for Labov and Waletzky's (1967) study were elicited stories collected in interviews rather than "ordinary" narratives. This means that they were answers to questions and occasioned by the researcher, not the informant. The following example demonstrates the interview process used by Labov and Waletzky (1967: 14) for their social science research:

Researcher:	Were you ever in a situation where you thought you were in serious danger of getting killed?
Informant:	I talked a man out of — Old Doc Simon I talked him out of pulling the trigger.
Researcher:	What happened?
Informant:	Well, in the business I was associated at that time, the Doc was an old man.... [STORY]

According to Labov (1972), oral narratives are a highly structured discourse type consisting of specific components, each of which is associated with specific linguistic properties. An abstract is often the first structural component of a fully developed narrative in response to interview questions. As discussed in the previous chapter, the purpose of the abstract is to provide a summary of the story in such a way that it encapsulates the point of the story. However, the abstract is optional. When it occurs, it signals the start of the narrative by past tense reference (e.g. *I acquired an absolutely magnificent sewing machine, by foul means*) (Clark, 1994: 1014).

"Speaker-initiated" stories are methodically introduced into turn-by-turn talk. At the beginning of a speaker-initiated story, the incipient teller must project to the other speaker that the floor is to be taken for an extended telling. In this connection,

Nofsinger (1991: 155-160) discusses some important conversational features of storytelling. Story initiation is accomplished using routine conversational procedures and are integrated with other conversational structures. They are locally occasioned, joint achievements of tellers and listeners (C. Goodwin, 1984). Stories are recipient designed in that the status of the intended recipients' knowledge influences the way the story will be told. Furthermore, to be able to tell a story, a teller needs an extended turn.

C. Goodwin (1996, 2002) illustrates an example of story initiation as follows:

Teller:	The most *wonderful/terrible thing* happened to me today.
Recipient:	What happened.
Teller:	((Produces story))
Recipient:	((Responds to story))

This is a prototypical environment for the occurrence of a prefaced, i.e. speaker-initiated, story. The sense of what constitutes *wonderful* or *terrible* is not yet available to the recipient but is instead something that has to be discovered subsequently as the story proceeds. People tell their stories and in so doing present their version of reality (Ochs and Capps, 1996: 21).

Sacks (1974: 340-341) gives a detailed account of telling stories in conversation. According to Sacks, stories told in conversation properly have their telling begun, with what is called a preface sequence. The preface can take a minimal length of two turns, the first involving talk by the intending teller and the second by an intended recipient. The intending teller produces an utterance that contains such sequentially relevant components as (i) an offer to tell or a request for a chance to tell

the story, (ii) an initial characterisation of it, (iii) some reference to the time of the story events' occurrence.

A combination of the above components can be incorporated into an utterance whose first possible completion, which usually coincides with its first utterance's first possible completion, is supposedly the point of transition from the intending teller's talk to recipient reply. If such a first utterance is followed by the intended story recipient's acceptance of request to hear the story, then the storytelling can take place, the intending teller having redeemed the floor for that project. Thus story prefaces provide for the recognisability of story initiation and serve as virtual instructions for how recipients should respond to forthcoming utterances (C. Goodwin, 1984). Schegloff (1984: 42) states that the teller's such initiating move is designed to get potential next speakers not to start talking.

Similarly, Jefferson (1978: 220) shows that stories are locally occasioned. She writes:

> The local occasioning of a story by ongoing turn-by-turn can have two discrete aspects: (a) A story is "triggered" in the course of turn-by-turn talk. That is, something said at a particular moment in conversation can remind a participant (speaker or hearer) of a particular story, which may or may not be "topically coherent" with the talk in progress. (b) A story is methodically introduced into turn-by-turn talk. That is, techniques are used to display a relationship between the story and prior talk and thus account for, and propose the appropriateness of, the story's telling.

Jefferson (p. 221) further demonstrates that a story can be introduced into the talk by the use of a "disjunct marker" (e.g. *oh* or *incidentally* or *by the way*), which signals that what follows is not topically coherent with the prior talk. A story can also be introduced into the talk by the use of an "embedded repetition" in which some part of prior talk is mentioned, as in "speaking of X", where X is the repeated element. Each

of these devices, when applied in interaction, creates continuity in the ongoing talk. The combined devices of disjunct and embedded repetition signal that the matter being talked of, while not topically coherent with prior talk, had that talk as its source, that is, it is a direct product of that talk, as in *oh that teeshirt reminded me* (p. 222).

Before turning to the third category (second stories) of story initiation, a clear distinction needs to be made between recipient-initiated stories in which there is an abstract and speaker-initiates stories in which there is a story preface discussed above. A typical abstract outlines the story that a teller intends will follow. An abstract may then sketch a narrative in a severely abridged form. It is important to note, however, that an abstract may occur not only in recipient-initiated stories but also in other types of story initiation because it foreshadows a forthcoming story in some way. Story prefaces (Sacks, 1974), on the other hand, are used to shift from a general topic to a specific story. In the story preface, the storyteller requests and is gained the right to take an extended speaking turn while telling the story.

"Second" stories appear once one narrative has been told. Stories implicitly invite related stories from other participants in many conversational settings. Second stories are jointly produced by speakers who pick out some features from previous stories to work them into their ongoing story without making an effort to frame each story anew (Ryave, 1978: 121). Here is an example (Tolmie et al., 1998):

Graham:	Yeah and of course I didn't have anything to do with it. It was lucky Dip weren't it?
Simon:	Right. I've had four numbers before and I got err::
Graham:	Fifty quid?
Simon:	Less than that. In fact I've had four numbers twice now and it was less than fifty quid both times coz I expected quite a bit of money for that.... [STORY]

A way to show understanding of someone's story and work that up as an example of "we must live in the same world because I've had a similar experience" is to tell a second story. Simon does precisely this with the story of how he has had four numbers that have come up twice.

Either speaker can use the transition relevance place to take up another topic, since they are now free from the structural constraints of the first story. Second stories often appear after the first story is completed. When one story has been told, others may be anticipated, or triggered off by the first. These can arise without the pre-sequence pair, speakers having now entered a narrative cycle of extended turns whose product may be a series of stories by different speakers or by the same person (Moerman, 1973; Goffman, 1981).

All of the above storytelling strategies are alike in that they (i) suspend turntaking to allow for a multiunit turn, (ii) invoke teller/recipient roles and (iii) establish an interpretive framework for the story. Here the teller and the audience create a social organisation of conversational actions, and any intervening sequence is designed to address this adjacent serial organisation (Levinson, 1983). The audience maintains recipiency during storytelling. This positive alignment on the part of the listener creates the multi-party structure of conversation, an effect that facilitates the teller to tell the story the recipient wants, and has asked, to hear.

Previous research into story initiation has mainly concentrated on English language. The dominant characteristic of English speakers seems to be that the teller has to get the floor by offering to tell a story, and the other members acknowledge and permit the extended turn to be taken. The question arises as to how Japanese would begin to tell a story in conversation.

Watanabe (1990, 1993) reports a comparative study of American and Japanese conversational structure patterns. As for the ways of beginning the discussions, Watanabe finds that the Japanese begin by negotiating the first turn, suggesting who should speak and conceding to others, and discussing how they would discuss an issue. In contrast, Americans begin promptly without discussing the first turn or the discussion style. Based on the findings, Watanabe (1990: 105) argues that Japanese prefer to prearrange the turntaking order and/or discussion style through negotiation where the gender and seniority factors play an important role, while Americans do not display such a preference for prearrangement of turntaking order or discussion style.

Comparing the conversational behaviour of Japanese and Thai interlocutors using the analytical concept of "floor", Iwasaki and Horie (1998) deal with cultural norms generally held by members of the respective cultural groups. Based on various empirical data, Iwasaki and Horie (p. 507) observe that Japanese speakers exhibit features of the "collaboration speech style". The authors suggest that "Japanese seem to find pleasure in the ambience of being together in conversation" (p. 521). These features are a realisation of Japanese preference for "mutual dependency" (p. 522), which can be confirmed as norms generally members of the Japanese cultural group.

R. Hayashi (1996: 180-184) is a study of conversational floors, and compares American and Japanese conversational patterns. R. Hayashi examines the preparation phase before a conversation from a global point of view. In her analysis, Japanese spend a long time to decide their roles (e.g. speakership) in conversation, as through coordination of interaction and collaboration can communicative stability be maintained. She finds that a male speaker took the role of leadership in a group of two males and two females (p. 180-181). The author (p. 184) correlates this Japanese

conversational interaction with rigid hierarchical human relations characteristic of Japanese culture.

More directly relevant to this thesis is a study of prefacing in the casual narrative by Maynard (1989: 100-115). Maynard directly addressed the initial or early part of conversational storytelling in naturally-occurring Japanese conversation with the model proposed by Sacks (1974) and Jefferson (1978) as a starting point. Maynard focuses on strategies that Japanese speakers use for the purpose of narrative introduction. She puts forth seven different strategies and gives an example for each category as follows:

1. transitional claim
   e.g. *soo ieba* (speaking about that), *sorede* (and then)
2. evaluation/reportability
   e.g. *soo ieba ne sono hanashi sugoi n da yo* (Speaking of that, there's a story that's really awful.)
3. specification of the source of the narrative
   e.g. *demo nanka sa mukashi shiba ryootaroo no shoosetsu nanka yonde-tara sa....* (But, uh, a long time ago when I read a novel or something by Ryotaro Shiba, ...)
4. connection to immediate context of the recipient
   e.g. *kinoo da yo ne, taki kara denwa ga kakaru mae ni onoda-san to shabette-te* (It was yesterday, wasn't it? I was chatting with Ms. Onoda right before you (i.e. Taki) called me up.)
5. overt confirmation of new information and/or request for permission
   e.g. *dakara anoo gogaku kenkyuujo de hanashi shinakatta kke?* (So, you know, at the language institute, didn't I tell you this story yet?)
6. title-like theme announcement
   e.g. *hora senpai no yoosuru-ni hanashi kiki-ni itte-ru yatsu desho* (You know, the story, that is, the story that they went to see the alumni), *sono nomi kinoo nomi-ni itta desho* (You see, drinking, yesterday they went drinking, right?)
7. acceptance of theme suggested and solicited by the co-participant
   e.g. *ima benkyoo shite-ta tte sono eigo no benkyoo soretomo?* (You said you were studying until now, is that English or something else?)

Maynard (p. 115) argues that at least one of the seven categories must appear before the storyteller can successfully introduce a story into the talk. Interestingly, Maynard's extensive discussion of story initiation in Japanese conversation illustrates similarities with a story preface discussed in Sacks (1974). For example, with regard to the fifth category, Maynard describes a conversational pattern in which the storyteller requests a chance to report something unknown to the recipient as part of prefacing to the narrative. This is exactly what Sacks (1974) is describing. Maynard includes an extensive list of strategies found in story initiation in Japanese conversation, which implies that the interlocutors in either English or Japanese do something to interactively manage the floor and to maintain the teller-listener roles.

The high number of recipient-initiated stories is due to the way in which the data were collected, i.e. participants were asked to participate in the task of telling stories. Thus this contrasts with the more usual way (speaker-initiated stories and second stories) in which stories emerge within everyday talk. There are 18 stories in both languages, out of which nine are recipient-initiated stories (category 1). The rest are divided into five speaker-initiated stories (category 2) and four second stories (category 3).

In what follows, I will examine the beginning segments of both Japanese and Australian stories to show how they construct the interaction leading up to the beginning of stories. The turn with which the teller enters into a story is shown with an arrow (→). Presumably, any differences between Japanese and Australian ways of communicating can be related to differences in Japanese and Australian cultures. A summary and discussion will be added at the end of each section.

3.3 Analysis of the Japanese data

3.3.1 Introduction

In this section, all nine Japanese stories will be examined for the purpose of identifying story initiation although it must be remembered that the data are not from naturally-occurring conversational narratives and thus may differ from them. The opening sequences of three Japanese stories already presented in Chapter 2 are re-presented in this chapter. The fragments of the data will be divided into three categories: (i) recipient-initiated stories, (ii) speaker-initiated stories and (iii) second stories. The analysis of data will focus on the turns leading up to and inclusive of beginnings of stories.

I will show that (i) the recipient asks a series of questions in order to elicit a story from the teller (recipient-initiated stories), (ii) the teller takes up a turn and offers to tell a narrative by an abstract (speaker-initiated stories) and (iii) the second teller produces an abstract in order to work the story as second to the preceding one (second stories).

3.3.2 Recipient-initiated stories

There are five recipient-initiated stories in the Japanese data.

- J1

J1 shows an initiation of a story occurring after a few verbal exchanges. Teruyo and Yumi are students in their twenties and live together as housemates. They are talking about overseas travel.

Teller: Teruyo
Listener: Yumi

1	Yumi	e nani:.
2		(1.0)
3	Teruyo	a ha.
4		(2.6)
5	Yumi	tai chau, tai.
6	Teruyo	>soo soo soo soo,< ima ryokoo no hanashi de omoidashita n

		dakedo:.
7	Yumi	°un un.°
8		(1.0)
9	Teruyo	ma ryokoo to ieba tai kana.
10	Yumi	ha ha [ha ha anata no ryokoo to ieba tai.
11	Teruyo	[°ha ha ha ha ha ha.°
12	Teruyo	yappa rokkai mo itterushi.
13	Yumi	a ha ha.
14	Teruyo	tai kana¿ mitaina.
15	Yumi	°un.°
16		(0.6)
17	Teruyo	ma: (.) maikai (.) ano (.) anyu:juaruna koto ga okotteru n [dakedo: ha ha ha ha.
18	Yumi	[a ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.
19		(0.8)
20 →	Teruyo	sono ↑ne, nanka (1.8) saisho ni: (.) itta toki ni::,
21	Yumi	°un.°
21a	Teruyo	itta toki¿ ni: sugoi yoku shitekureta: tsuaagaido-san ga ite::.
22	Yumi	°un.°
23	Teruyo	taijin no¿
24	Yumi	°un.°
25	Teruyo	de-
26	Yumi	otoko? [onna?
27	Teruyo	[un otoko otoko. [STORY]
28	Yumi	un.

★English translation

1	Yumi	What?
2		(1.0)
3	Teruyo	A ha.
4		(2.6)
5	Yumi	Didn't you want to say something about Thailand?
6	Teruyo	Right, right, speaking of travel, I just remembered something.
7	Yumi	Uh huh.
8		(1.0)
9	Teruyo	Well, speaking of travel reminds me of Thailand.
10	Yumi	Ha ha ha ha for you, travel is synonymous with Thailand.
11	Teruyo	Ha ha ha ha ha ha.
12	Teruyo	Well, I've been there six times.
13	Yumi	A ha ha.
14	Teruyo	So Thailand it is.
15	Yumi	Uh huh.
16		(0.6)
17	Teruyo	Well, every time I go there something unusual happens.
18	Yumi	A ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.
19		(0.8)
20	Teruyo	Well, when I went there for the first time,
21	Yumi	Uh huh.
21a	Teruyo	I had a tour guide who did so much for me.
22	Yumi	Uh huh.
23	Teruyo	A Thai tour guide.
24	Yumi	Uh huh.
25	Teruyo	And-
26	Yumi	Male? Female?
27	Teruyo	Yeah, a man.
28	Yumi	Uh huh.

In line 1, Yumi starts a new turn with an open question *e nani:?* (what?). Teruyo's laughter *a ha* (line 3), followed by silence (1.0 second) (line 2), shows that Yumi's question is not answered. Another silence (2.6 seconds) occurs in line 4. Yumi then introduces the topic of the story *tai chau, tai* (didn't you want to say something about Thailand?) (line 5). In effect Yumi is directing the theme of the conversation by

asking Teruyo a theme-defining question. The increase in speed in line 6 (*>soo soo soo soo,< ima ryokoo no hanashi de omoidashita n dakedo:* (right, right, speaking of travel, I just remembered something) projects to Yumi that the floor is to be taken. Here Teruyo proposes to tell a story. Yumi, in saying *°un un°* (uh huh), puts herself into a recipient role for Teruyo's story (line 7).

However, Teruyo does not begin to tell a story at this point. Following a 1.0-second silence (line 8), Teruyo says *ma ryokoo to ieba tai kana* (well, speaking of travel reminds me of Thailand) (line 9). In line 10, Yumi bursts into laughter and says *ha ha ha ha anata no ryokoo to ieba tai* (ha ha ha ha for you, travel is synonymous with Thailand). Teruyo's laughter — *ha ha ha ha ha ha* — occurs in overlap with Yumi's laughter (line 11).

Teruyo rephrases her remark by saying *yappa rokkai mo itterushi* (well, I've been there six times) (line 12). Yumi produces laughter *a ha ha* (line 13), and Teruyo moves on in line 14 (*tai ka ↑na mitaina* (so Thailand it is)), which caps off the sequence. In line 16, silence (0.6 second) occurs after Yumi's acknowledgment token *°un°* (uh huh) (line 15). This type of silence exists because Yumi has assented to be the recipient and Teruyo now has the floor. That's how the participants treat it.

Teruyo produces an evaluation of her experience *ma: (.) maikai (.) ano (.) anyu:juaruna koto ga okotteru n dakedo: ha ha ha ha* (well, every time I go there something unusual happens ha ha ha ha) (line 17). Yumi acknowledges that remark with laughter *a ha ha ha ha ha ha ha* (line 18). The silence in line 19 is interpreted as an invitation to tell a story, which is evident because that is what happens. Teruyo enters into the narrative frame by providing the orientation of the story in lines 20-21a.

This example shows that the first indication of a story about Thailand by the listener (line 5) leads to a long prefatory interaction before the telling of the story actually occurs. The teller begins to tell a story with an orientation (lines 20 and 21a), which is preceded by an evaluation of her travel experiences (line 17). In the meantime, the listener, through her contributions (lines 7, 10, 13, 15, 18), encourages Teruyo to keep talking.

- J2

Kazuyuki and Yumi are acquaintances from the same university. Prior to this interaction, Yumi had discovered that Kazuyuki was a frequent skier and that a funny thing happened when he skied for the first time.

Teller: Kazuyuki
Listener: Yumi

1		Yumi	jaa sono sukii tte yuu no wa:, ni↑hon de yoku sareru n desu ka?
2		Kazuyuki	a mochiron, [nihon desu kedo ↑ne.
3		Yumi	[a ha.
4		Yumi	jaa sono: (.) saisho no toki tte yuu no wa, [°nani ga atta n desu ka?°
5	→	Kazuyuki	[saisho- AA.
6	→	Kazuyuki	saisho wa: (0.8) °ano° sukii tte TAKAKATTA n desu yo:.
7			(0.4)
8		Kazuyuki	watashi no (.) ikkagetsu no kyuuryoo o zenbu: .hh (.) zenbu dashite:, booshi kara (.) te kara .h (.) ano: ashi SUKII no ita kara: .h pooru made ZENBU (0.6) ano: WATASHI no kyuuryoo zenbu hataite zenbu katta n desu yo.
9		Yumi	°aa:::::::.°
10		Kazuyuki	°tooji gomanen datta kana.° [STORY]

★English translation

1		Yumi	So when you say skiing... do you do that often in Japan?
2		Kazuyuki	Ah of course... (I go skiing) in Japan.
3		Yumi	A ha.
4		Yumi	Then uhm... when you skied for the first time what happened?
5		Kazuyuki	The first time- ah.
6		Kazuyuki	The first time... uhm skiing was expensive, you know.
7			(0.4)
8		Kazuyuki	I spent a whole month's salary on everything from a hat, a pair of skis, to poles, spending all my salary.
9		Yumi	Ah.
10		Kazuyuki	I think it was fifty thousand yen then.

J2 demonstrates how the recipient (Yumi) puts her question in another form, shifting from a closed question to an open question (Weber, 1993). The teller (Kazuyuki) proceeds to tell a story only after the open question is given. In line 1, Yumi begins a

new turn *jaa sono sukii tte yuu no wa: (0.5) ni ↑hon de yoku sareru n desu ka?* (so when you say skiing... do you do that often in Japan?). This is a closed question, probing to find out where Kazuyuki used to ski. In line 2, Kazuyuki gives a brief answer *a mochiron (.) nihon desu kedo ↑ne* (ah of course... (I go skiing) in Japan) and completes his utterance. Yumi then asks an open question, eliciting a story *jaa sono: (.) saisho no toki tte yuu no wa (.) °nani ga atta n desu ka?°* (then uhm... when you skied for the first time what happened?) (line 4). Kazuyuki overlaps this story-initiating question with *saisho- AA* (the first time- ah) (line 5). A partial repetition *saisho* (the first time) plus the disjunct marker *AA* (ah) function as preparatory to introducing the story (Jefferson, 1978: 222). In line 6, Kazuyuki begins recounting the tale of his first skiing experience *saisho wa: (0.8) °ano° sukii tte TAKAKATTA n desu yo:* (the first time... uhm skiing was expensive, you know). With this utterance Kazuyuki explains what skiing was like in Japan twenty-five years ago. As can be seen from the silence (line 7), Yumi stays silent and assumes a recipient role.

In this example, the listener initiates a story through a series of questions (lines 1, 4). The primary question (closed) (line 1) seeks locative information of the topic (i.e. skiing) and the secondary question (open) (line 4) explicitly invites the teller to tell a story. The teller begins a story with an orientation (line 5), and after short silence (line 7), he continues with his story. Verbal acceptance by the listener is expected, but need not be uttered (Sacks, 1992).

- J3

This example is a close parallel with J2 in that the recipient asks a series of questions in inviting the teller to begin a story. Yoko and Shun are academic colleagues whose relationship involves occasional work-related talk. Prior to this

interaction, Yoko has made it known to her fellow teachers and students that she spent some time in India and taught Japanese language there a long time ago.

Teller: Yoko
Listener: Shun

1	Shun	ee:::tto ano::: (.) MAE:: (.) e: indo ni: (.) irashita to iu hanashi o ukagatta n desu [ga:.
2	Yoko	[ee.
3	Shun	itsu goro deshita ka sore wa.
4	Yoko	MOO sore koso (.) sanjuunen gurai mae daroo to omoimasu ne:.
5	Yoko	choodo:: ano::: (.) indo to pakisutan ga:, saishoni ano: (.) <sensoo hajime[ta: (.) koro deshita node.>
6	Shun	[hoo:::, °taihenna toko deshita [ne.°
7	Yoko	[ee.=
8	Shun	=ee.=
9	Yoko	=ee.
10		(0.5)
11	Shun	mata- (.) dooyuu kikkake de:: indo ni irashita n desu ka?
12 →	Yoko	e, ↑indo ni itta no wa: (.) tamatama sono::::: (.) ee::: nan desu ka ima no: ano:::: heewabutai no (0.5) morumotto mitaina kata[chi de] okuridasareta n [desu keredomo.
13	Shun	[°hoo hoo hoo.°] [ee ee ee.
14	Yoko	.h de::::: (.) zenzen: (.) ano::: (0.6) nani o shitemo ii to yuu node:,
15	Shun	ee.
15a	Yoko	jusshuukan oshietara moo sassato nishuukan ryokoosuru to yuu [katachi de. [STORY]
16	Shun	[haa haa.

★English translation

1	Shun	Uhm... I've heard that you were in India some time ago.
2	Yoko	Yeah.
3	Shun	When was that?
4	Yoko	Well I think it was about thirty years ago.
5	Yoko	Uhm... it was just at the time when India and Pakistan went to war.
6	Shun	Oh, that was a terrible time, wasn't it?
7	Yoko	Yeah.
8	Shun	Uh huh.
9	Yoko	Yeah.
10		(0.5)
11	Shun	How come you went to India?
12	Yoko	Uhm I was sent to India as... uhm... what do you call it now... a kind of guinea pig of the Peace Corps.
13	Shun	Oh. Uh huh.
14	Yoko	And... they say I'm free to do anything so
15	Shun	Uh huh.
15a	Yoko	I teach for ten weeks and travel for two weeks.
16	Shun	Hmm. Uh huh.

Shun asks Yoko a closed question *ee:::tto ano::: (.) MAE:: (.) e: indo ni: (.) irashita to iu hanashi o ukagatta n desu ga:* (uhm... I've heard that you were in India some time ago) (line 1), *itsu goro deshita ka sore wa* (when was that?) (line 3). This is a simple question that requires a short answer. Yoko makes a reply, giving both an answer to the question and additional background information about the political situation of India at the time *MOO sore koso (.) sanjuunen gurai mae daroo to*

omoimasu ne: (well I think it was about thirty years ago) (line 4), *choodo:: ano::: (.) indo to pakisutan ga:, saishoni ano: (.) <sensoo hajimeta: (.) koro deshita node>* (uhm... it was just the time when India and Pakistan went to war) (line 5). Shun produces an acknowledgment token *hoo:::* (oh), followed by an evaluation *°taihenna toko deshita ne°* (that was a terrible time, wasn't it?) (line 6). Shun and Yoko concurrently latch onto each other by saying *ee* (yeah, uh huh) (lines 7-9). Here they are closing off a sequence.

Following silence (0.5 second) (line 10), Shun produces a more direct story-provoking question *mata- (.) dooyuu kikkake de: indo ni irashita n desu ka?* (how come you went to India?) (line 11). With this open question, Shun is eliciting a story from Yoko. Yoko marks her response with *e* (uhm) (line 12) and short silence before she supplies the story. Shun aligns himself as recipient of the story with *°hoo hoo hoo°* (oh) and *ee ee ee* (uh huh) (line 13), both of which overlap with Yoko's utterance. While being attentive to Yoko's words, Shun is giving minimal response feedback.

What the listener does in this example is initiate a story in three steps. First, the listener introduces a topic (i.e. visit to India) into the talk (line 1). Second, the listener asks a closed question seeking temporal information of the topic (line 4). Third, the listener explicitly invites the teller to tell a story through an open question (line 11). The teller begins a story with an orientation (line 12).

- J4

In J4, the teller (Masae) enters into the narrative frame fairly quickly, as compared to the previous examples (J1, J2, J3). Masae and Eriko are close friends who frequently have lunch together. Masae generates a verification question about

what Eriko has done during the winter holidays. Eriko then asks Masae an open question.

Teller: Masae
Listener: Eriko

1	Masae	eriko wa::,
2	Eriko	u::n.
2a	Masae	kagawa ni::, huyuyasumi kaetteta n da yo [ne?
3	Eriko	[un un un un.
4		(0.8)
5	Eriko	sanjuuichinichi ni, [.h girigirini.
6	Masae	[°a ha.°
7	Masae	°hee.°
8	Eriko	hmm masae wa .hh.
9 →	Masae	e watashi: wa:,
10	Eriko	u:n.
11		(0.9)
11a	Masae	baitoshitete::.
12	Eriko	u:n.
13	Masae	de:: (1.0) ↑nijuuyokka ni::,
14	Eriko	°u:n.°
14a	Masae	honto wa kurisumasu dakara:,
15	Eriko	°u:n.°
16		(1.2)
16a	Masae	>kareshi n toko ni< ikoo to omotta n dakedo::,
17	Eriko	°u:n.°
17a	Masae	ikenakute: a ha ha ha. [STORY]

★English translation

1	Masae	You...
2	Eriko	Uh huh.
2a	Masae	went back to Kagawa for the winter holidays, didn't you?
3	Eriko	Yeah yeah yeah yeah.
4		(0.8)
5	Eriko	At the last minute on the thirty-first.
6	Masae	A ha.
7	Masae	Hmm.
8	Eriko	How about you?
9	Masae	Uhm as for me...
10	Eriko	Uh huh.
11		(0.9)
11a	Masae	I was working part-time.
12	Eriko	Uh huh.
13	Masae	And... on the twenty-fourth,
14	Eriko	Uh huh.
14a	Masae	because it was Christmas,
15	Eriko	Uh huh.
16		(1.2)
16a	Masae	I thought I'd go to my boyfriend's place,
17	Eriko	Uh huh.
17a	Masae	but I couldn't go a ha ha ha.

Masae begins by asking Eriko a verification question *eriko wa::, kagawa ni::, huyuyasumi kaetteta n da yo ne?* (you... went back to Kagawa for the winter holidays, didn't you?) (lines 1-2a). Eriko supplies *un un un un* (yeah yeah yeah yeah) (line 3) and fills the ensuing silence (0.8-second) (line 4) with additional information *sanjuuichinichi ni, .h girigirini* (at the last minute on the thirty-first) (line 5). Masae

mutters *%hee°* (hmm) in line 7. One could argue that Masae is indicating a lack of enthusiasm or interest. Eriko then asks Masae an open question *hmm masae wa .hh* (how about you?) (line 8). Masae marks her response with *e* (uhm) and begins a story by saying that she was working part-time (during the winter holidays) in lines 9-11a. In line 10, Eriko aligns herself as recipient of the story with *u:n* (uh huh).

Here, although the teller introduces a topic (i.e. winter holidays) into the talk (line 1), the listener asks an open question (line 8) and invites the teller to begin a story. The teller's utterance in line 9 constitutes an orientation.

- J5

The story is taken from a conversation between Hiroki and Hoshoku, two university students who belong to the same social club on campus. This predominantly male social club fosters a relaxed atmosphere in which the members have frank and candid discussions about their past experiences. Prior to this interaction, Hoshoku finishes telling a story about his first visit to a brothel. Hoshoku caps off his story as follows (line 1). Because the participants temporarily switch the tape recorder off at a point when the first story ends and turn it back on immediately before Hoshoku's utterance in line 1, I consider this extract an example of a recipient-initiated story rather than a second story.

Teller: Hiroki
Listener: Hoshoku

1	Hoshoku	maa::: ore::: no: (.) maa huuzoku taiken¿, a ha
2	Hiroki	un.
2a	Hoshoku	toka bakabanashi tte no wa sonna ya kedo:.
3	Hoshoku	o↑mae mo (.) taigai (0.5) ore ni makehen yaro.
4	Hiroki	HA HA .hh.
5	Hoshoku	°ne.°
6 →	Hiroki	a::no ne:::: ore (.) ima ninen jan.
7	Hoshoku	han.
8	Hiroki	.h ichinen no koro wa ne:::, mada tookyoo tomodachi inaishi sa:[:::.
9	Hoshoku	[hai ha [hai.
10	Hiroki	[moo ne:: (0.7) nani, dengon,
11	Hoshoku	°h[a.°
11a	Hiroki	[terekura,
12	Hoshoku	tsuushotto daiaru.

12a	Hiroki	soo soo soo [(.) sooyuu no hitotoori yatte sa::::. [STORY]
13	Hoshoku	[°a ha.°
14	Hoshoku	°ha:n.°

★English translation

1	Hoshoku	Well... that's my experience with the entertainment and amusement trades a ha
2	Hiroki	Uh huh.
2a	Hoshoku	or silly talk... that's about it.
3	Hoshoku	You must have much broader experience than me.
4	Hiroki	Ha ha.
5	Hoshoku	Right?
6	Hiroki	Uhm... I'm a second-year student now, right?
7	Hoshoku	Hmm.
8	Hiroki	When I was a first-year student I didn't have friends in Tokyo.
9	Hoshoku	Yes yes yes.
10	Hiroki	Well... message lines,
11	Hoshoku	Hmm.
11a	Hiroki	telephone dating services,
12	Hoshoku	Two shot dials.
12a	Hiroki	yeah yeah yeah I did all of that.
13	Hoshoku	A ha.
14	Hoshoku	Hmm.

Hoshoku provides a summary of what he talked about *n maa::: o↑re::: no: (.) maa huuzoku taiken¿, a ha toka bakabanashi cchuu no wa sonna ya kedo:* (well... that's my experience with the entertainment and amusement trades a ha or silly talk... that's about it) (lines 1-2a). Hoshoku thus offers a conclusion to the topic-in-progress. Hiroki responds to Hoshoku's statement with *un* (uh huh) (line 2). Hoshoku then continues with a tag question *o↑mae mo (.) taigai ore ni makehen yaro* (you have broader experience than me, don't you?) (line 3). Here Hoshoku is handing the floor over to Hiroki. In other words, Hoshoku is designating Hiroki as the next speaker. Although Hiroki's laughter *HA HA* (line 4) is an acceptance of line 3, it is not interpreted as that by Hoshoku who repairs with *°ne°* (right?), which then makes it clear that the recipient proposed a story in line 3.

Hiroki begins a story with *a::no ne:::: ore (.) ima ninen jan* (uhm... I'm a second-year student now, you know) (line 6). What this utterance does is set the scene of the story for the recipient. This background information constitutes the beginning of the story. Hoshoku, in saying *han* (hmm), puts himself into the recipient role for Hiroki's story (line 7). That is how they understand it, as evidenced in data.

In this example, the listener summarises his talk (line 1) and invites the teller to talk about a related topic (line 3). The listener's utterance in line 3 is a kind of tag question. It is seeking agreement that the teller is indeed experienced with the entertainment and amusement trades. At the same time, it gives the teller the floor to tell a story. This utterance is subsequently taken up by the teller who begins to tell a story with an orientation (line 6).

3.3.3 Speaker-initiated stories

This subsection will explore the characteristic properties of speaker-initiated stories, although still coming out of the task of telling stories. There are three speaker-initiated stories in the Japanese data.

- J6

This story is told in the company of close friends. Akiko is a postgraduate student and Miyuki is involved in language teaching. They meet regularly and discuss their experiences as expatriates. Australia has strict quarantine laws to protect its plants, animals and environment from international pests and diseases. Prior to this interaction, Akiko discovers that Miyuki was able to import salmon flakes from Japan that would have been confiscated if the box had been inspected by the Australian Quarantine and Inspection Service (AQIS). Akiko then talks about some of the restricted items (lines 8, 10) and begins to tell a story about her experience.

Teller: Akiko
Listener: Miyuki

1	Miyuki	unagi:: [kuukoo de-
2	Akiko	[°un.°
3	Akiko	a- miseta n da[kke e he.
3a	Miyuki	[misete:, unagi da ↑yon te itta kedo:, o ho ho ho .hh okkee deshita ↑yo, nanka.
4	Akiko	a[:soo:::::::.
5	Miyuki	[hito niyotte kana.
6	Akiko	soo:: da ne:[:::::::.
7	Miyuki	[u::::n.

8		Akiko	.h iya sakana niku: (0.5) u:::: nanda (1.3) tan- tanerui?
9		Miyuki	a, tanerui [wa::-
10		Akiko	[>nn ato< tamago:?
11		Akiko	so[:re wa moo zenbu dame tte kiitete:.
12		Miyuki	[u:::::n.
13		Miyuki	un.
14			(1.0)
15	→	Akiko	NANKA ATASHI: .hh ↑saisho::: kita toshi wa::: (0.9) zenze::n (.) maa rakkii datta mitai na n dakedo >hikkakattenakatta no ne< (.) [keneki ni.
16		Miyuki	[°un un.°
17			(0.5)
18		Akiko	de::: aa nihon kara dai- nandemo::: daijoobu da na: to omotte: (.) itara::, saikin wa: moo nokinami akeraretete nakami ga. [STORY]

★English translation

1	Miyuki	I (declared) eels at the airport-
2	Akiko	Uh huh.
3	Akiko	Oh, you showed them, right? E he.
3a	Miyuki	I showed them and said they were eels o ho ho ho somehow they were okay.
4	Akiko	Right.
5	Miyuki	I wonder if it depends on the person.
6	Akiko	I think I see.
7	Miyuki	Uh huh.
8	Akiko	Fish, meat, what is it... seeds?
9	Miyuki	Oh, as for seeds-
10	Akiko	And eggs?
11	Akiko	I had heard that they were no good.
12	Miyuki	Uh huh.
13	Miyuki	Uh huh.
14		(1.0)
15	Akiko	Like the first year... I was lucky, I guess, nothing failed to pass quarantine inspection.
16	Miyuki	Uh huh.
17		(0.5)
18	Akiko	And... I was thinking that everything from Japan was okay but recently everything has been opened, I mean the contents.

Miyuki explains that eels did not get confiscated at the airport (lines 1-3a). Akiko then lists some restricted items (line 8). Miyuki cuts in on Akiko by saying *a, tanerui wa::-* (oh, as for seeds...) (line 9). This utterance shows that Miyuki has something to say about the topic. Akiko's *>nn ato< tamago:?* (and eggs?) in line 10 overlaps with Miyuki's speech. Akiko is resuming her talk. Akiko continues with *so:re wa moo zenbu dame tte kiitete:* (I had heard that they were no good) (line 11). Miyuki says *u:::::n* (uh huh) in line 12, signalling her attention.

It seems that the following silence (1.0 second) has a different significance for the participants (line 14). Akiko seems to consider this silence as a signal to move on. There is evidence (the transcript) that Akiko increases her volume when she begins the story *NANKA ATASHI: .hh ↑saisho::: kita toshi wa:::, zenze::n (.) maa rakkii*

datta mitai na n dakedo >hikkakattenakatta no ne< (.) keneki ni (like the first year... I was lucky, I guess, nothing failed to pass quarantine inspection) (line 15) while Miyuki utters *°un un°* (uh huh) (line 16). Miyuki's utterance (line 16) is an acceptance of Akiko's story. Akiko's statement in line 15 provides an orientation for her story. That is, Akiko picks out elements in the ongoing talk and transforms them into a personal experience story. Akiko begins a story without a story preface (Sacks, 1974). She does this by producing an utterance (line 15) that amounts to orientation of the story with the personal pronoun *atashi* (I). This utterance is of interest because it serves to connect the story with the talk in progress. *Atashi* (I) in line 15 makes sense only in the here-and-now frame of the conversation in progress. Since this utterance does not explicitly offer to tell a narrative or request a chance to tell one, it cannot be considered as a story preface. Here, *atashi* (I) is designed to achieve entry to a narrative and to get Miyuki to be an audience, making a shift from the ongoing conversation to a narrative. Miyuki's *un un* (uh huh) signals approval and acknowledges Akiko's claim to tell a narrative.

- J7

J7 is also an example of initiation of a story by the teller. The segment is taken from a lunchtime chat between two university students, Miki and Taeko. Taeko organises the initiation of a new topic that both participants like to talk about, i.e. travel. Stretching over multiple turns, Miki and Taeko share their travel experiences. Miki mentions in line 2 that she has been to Okinawa. The participants subsequently pursue the topic of Okinawa. They discuss the quality of Japan's beaches and make a comparison with Okinawa's clear water with that of other beaches (lines 5-25). Silence (line 26) ensues, and Taeko shows admiration for Okinawa (line 27).

Teller: Miki
Listener: Taeko

1	Taeko	.h okinawa mo ichido ittemitai na:[:::.
2	Miki	[u::n, okinawa ii yo:, okinawa.=
3	Taeko	=honto.
4	Miki	[un.
5	Taeko	[umi toka sugoi kiree [soo dakara::.
6	Miki	[umi kiree ne::, umi kiree.
7		(1.6)
8	Taeko	°hu::[::n.°
9	Miki	[soo soo, nanka (.) umi no iro ga chigau mon.
10	Miki	MIDORI.
11	Miki	↑midoriiro shiteru mon.
12	Taeko	midori:[::?
13	Miki	[u::n.
14	Taeko	.hhh [hee::.
15	Miki	[nanka.
16	Taeko	nanka (.) [ii na:.
17	Miki	[°u::n.°
18	Taeko	atashi[: (.) nanka (.) CHIBA no umi toka shika
19	Miki	[°un.°
19a	Taeko	[imeeji nai kara ne.
20	Miki	[a ha ha ha (.) AA:::::.
21	Miki	demo ↑chiba demo ano: (.) boosoo no a- [nan dakke (.) eeto-
22	Taeko	[ne::::.
23	Taeko	tateyama toka.
24	Miki	soo soo a↑no hen dato betsuni ki[tanai koto wa nai yo ne.
25	Taeko	[u::n soo da ne:::.
26		(2.5)
27	Taeko	okinawa ka::.
28 →	Miki	u:n (.) okinawa ne:: (.) taihuu de tomattari toka ↑ne:.
29	Taeko	e: nani: (0.5) nanka (.) chokuge[ki:.
30	Miki	[soo soo dakara ↑taihuu ga kite::, yonagunijima tte yuu tokoro ni yojikan kakete itta wa ii n dakedo:,
31	Taeko	u:n.
31a	Miki	hune de::.
32	Taeko	u:n.
33	Miki	.h nanka soko no minato ga chiisai kara: (.) "teehakudekimasen" te iwarete: (.) °moo° (.) "yojikan go gurai ni sugu mata tachimasu" toka iwarete. [STORY]

★English translation

1	Taeko	I'd love to go to Okinawa once.
2	Miki	Yeah, Okinawa is good. Okinawa.
3	Taeko	Really?
4	Miki	Yeah.
5	Taeko	Because the ocean seems beautiful.
6	Miki	The ocean is beautiful. The ocean is beautiful.
7		(1.6)
8	Taeko	Hum.
9	Miki	Yeah, like... the colour of the ocean is different.
10	Miki	Green.
11	Miki	It's green.
12	Taeko	Green?
13	Miki	Yeah.
14	Taeko	Hmm.
15	Miki	Like....
16	Taeko	Sounds good.
17	Miki	Yeah.
18	Taeko	I... like... only have the image of the ocean of Chiba,
19	Miki	Yeah.
19a	Taeko	you know.
20	Miki	A ha ha ha. Ah.
21	Miki	But uhm even Chiba has... like Boso Peninsula... what is it... uhm-
22	Taeko	Right.
23	Taeko	Like Tateyama, for instance.
24	Miki	Yeah yeah, it's not that dirty around that area, is it?
25	Taeko	Yeah, that's right.
26		(2.5)
27	Taeko	Oh Okinawa....
28	Miki	Yeah, Okinawa... a typhoon struck us, you know.
29	Taeko	What? Did it hit you directly?
30	Miki	Yeah yeah, I mean a typhoon came and although we went to a place called Yonaguni Island spending four hours,
31	Taeko	Uh huh.
31a	Miki	by ship.

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32      Taeko       Uh huh.
33      Miki        Like... because the port was small, they said "we cannot
                    anchor here... we must leave again after four hours or so".
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Taeko's utterance *okinawa ka::* (oh Okinawa...) signals a positive affirmation of Miki's talk (line 27). Taeko elongates the sentential particle *ka::*. One explanation for this behaviour is that Taeko is giving full play to her imagination as she has not been to Okinawa. She is also actively participating in the conversation. Miki marks her response with *u:n* (yeah) and short silence before she supplies the abstract *okinawa ne:: (.) taihuu de tomattari toka ↑ne:* (Okinawa... a typhoon struck us, you know), giving a very brief summary of her story (line 28). Taeko, in saying *e: nani:* (what?) (line 29), puts herself into the recipient role for Miki's story. Taeko continues with a clarification question *nanka (.) chokugeki:* (did it hit you directly?) and facilitates Miki's talk. Miki acts with this understanding, i.e. she begins her story. Miki responds with an orientation *soo soo dakara ↑taihuu ga kite::, yonagunijima tte yuu tokoro ni yo<u>j</u>ikan kakete i<u>tta</u> wa ii n dakedo:, hune de::* (yeah yeah, I mean a typhoon came and although we went to a place called Yonaguni Island spending four hours, by ship) (lines 30-31a). Taeko's *u:n* (uh huh) shows her attentiveness to Miki's story (lines 31 and 32).

This example shows that the teller does not use a story preface (Sacks, 1974). The story comes out of discussion of holidays and the task of telling stories. Specifically, the teller establishes newsworthiness and interest of the narrative by an abstract (line 28). Following this, the listener displays interest through a clarification question (line 29), inviting the teller to continue talking. This utterance (lines 29) by the recipient functions as acceptance to hear the teller's story. The teller starts the

story with an orientation. Thus the teller introduces a story in subtle ways where cooperation emerges between the participants.

◆ J8

Similarly, the following example illustrates how the teller produces a summary statement (abstract) as a preliminary to introducing a story, although this abstract appears to be less explicit than Sacks' (1974) characterisation of a story preface. The participants are postgraduates in the same department of the university. Prior to this interaction, Junko (teller) and Yuko (listener) have been talking about fitness and the topic of neck-lifting comes up.

Teller: Junko
Listener: Yuko

1	Yuko	ima kubi zenzen hutsuu no [hito da yo ne a ha .hh ha.
2	Junko	[nai nai nai nai, nai.
3	Junko	>soo demo ne< kubiage ga ichiban suki datta tte yuuka (.) [tokui datta.
4	Yuko	[°hee:::::.°
5	Junko	tte yuu ka (.) MINNA ga::: (.) koo (.) d- moo atama: ga: (0.5) ochiteku oto ga kikoeteru n dake[do:,
6	Yuko	[un.
6a	Junko	atashi wa:::::: kekkoo nagamochishita n de:.
7	Yuko	hu:: ↑hu:: [↓hu:: tte kanji.
8	Junko	[°un.°
9	Junko	°soo.°
10	Yuko	BATAT BATAT (0.4) <datsurakushiteiru [↑na:.>
11	Junko	[soo soo soo soo soo, .hhh YO:SHI YO:[SHI toka omo- .hhh
12	Yuko	[ha ha.
13	Yuko	madamada iku ↑zo:.
14	Junko	soo soo soo.
15	Yuko	[°hee:::::.°
16 →	Junko	[tokoroga watashi mo ne, shiken ni ochita koto ga aru n desu yo.
17		(1.0)
18	Yuko	kubi:: [saigo made-
19	Junko	[°iya iya° iya kubiage no shiken ja-nakute ne.
20	Junko	°nan dakke naa::° (0.5) choodo ne:, sannen- daigaku sannen no toki ni:[:,
21	Yuko	[°u:n.°
21a	Junko	sannen (.) to yonen ni na[ru toki no: sannenkan owatta gurai.
22	Yuko	[°u:n.°
23	Junko	.h ano:: (1.0) °nan da° (0.3) >isshuukan gurai no gasshuku ga atte::[:.< [STORY]
24	Yuko	[u:n.

★English translation

1	Yuko	Now your neck looks like that of a normal person a ha ha.
2	Junko	I haven't (got muscles any more).
3	Junko	Yeah but I liked neck-lifting the best... or was good at it.
4	Yuko	Hmm.
5	Junko	I mean... I could hear the sound of everyone's head falling (to the floor)
6	Yuko	Uh huh.
6a	Junko	but I lasted quite long.
7	Yuko	Like "hu hu hu".

8	Junko	Yeah.
9	Junko	Right.
10	Yuko	(They are) giving up.
11	Junko	Yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah, I'm going "all right!"
12	Yuko	Ha ha.
13	Yuko	(You are thinking) "I can keep this up".
14	Junko	Yeah yeah yeah.
15	Yuko	Hmm.
16	Junko	But there was a time when I failed a test, you know.
17		(1.0)
18	Yuko	(A test to see who could keep raising) their neck the longest-
19	Junko	No no no, it wasn't a neck-lifting test.
20	Junko	What is it... it was right at (the end of) the third year in university,
21	Yuko	Uh huh.
21a	Junko	shifting to the fourth year from the third year, around the time when three years had been completed.
22	Yuko	Uh huh.
23	Junko	Uhm... what is it... there was a camp for about a week.
24	Yuko	Uh huh.

Following the topic of neck-lifting (lines 1-15), Junko introduces a general statement that resembles an abstract *tokoroga watashi mo ne, shiken ni ochita koto ga aru n desu yo* (but there was a time when I failed a test, you know) (line 16). This abstract summarises the general theme that is going to be problematised, i.e. failing a test. The ensuing silence (1.0 second) (line 17) gives Yuko an opportunity to respond to what Junko has just said. Yuko produces a clarification question *kubi:: saigo made-* ((a test to see who could keep raising) their neck the longest-) (line 18). Yuko's question is overlapped by Junko's utterance *°iya iya° iya kubiage no shiken ja-nakute ne* (no no no, it wasn't a neck-lifting test) (line 19). Junko fills her turn with *°nan dakke naa::°* (what is it...) plus short silence (0.5 second) (line 20). This silence buys her some interactional time and holds the floor. *Nan dakke naa* in Japanese is one of the devices used to gain time for the speaker so that he/she can formulate what to say next in spontaneous speech. Junko then provides an orientation (temporal information) *choodo ne:, sannen- daigaku sannen no toki ni::* (it was right at (the end of) the third year in university....) in lines 20-21a while Yuko utters *°u:n°* (uh huh) (lines 21 and 22) and makes the floor available to Junko, putting herself into the recipient role.

The story comes out of discussion of neck-lifting and the task of telling stories. With the personal pronoun *watashi* (I), the prospective teller produces an abstract and gives opportunity for the listener's reaction. Iwasaki (1997: 669) discusses the same point with respect to the use of this first person pronoun. The listener displays interest by asking a clarification question about the topic. The teller begins to tell a story, and the listener accepts the teller's story.

3.3.4 Second stories

The following example (J9) will show that a second story occurs in certain types of conversational settings, where one participant conceives the other person as having experienced a similar happening. Participants achieve thematic relevance with preceding stories either through emulating the same content or introducing elaborations to the topics presented in preceding narratives. This is the only second story in the Japanese data.

- J9

Mami and Akihito live together in a flat. Prior to this interaction, Akihito has been telling a story about his rugby training camp. Mami mentions that her training camp always took place at school (line 12). Mami then accepts Akihito's story by saying *nan- (0.7) kanemochi ya ne* (that's rich) (line 16). Mami is providing an evaluation of Akihito's talk. Akihito says *°u:n°* (yeah) (line 18). Mami begins recounting the story of annoying managers in high school in line 19.

Teller: Mami
Listener: Akihito

1	Mami	demo ii ne (.) sonna (.)
		[gasshuku de (0.6) ironna toko ikete.
2	Akihito	[un.
3	Akihito	.h ironna toko ikete tte yuu ka (.) moo-
4		(0.8)
5	Mami	demo [soko wa-

6		Akihito	[ore no gakkoo wa soko:::::: ga shitee: mitaina kanji, zuutto.
7		Akihito	de soko:::: ↑no gasshuku:::: no (1.2) .h sono min- minshuku tte yuu ka so↑ko wa (.) kookoo:: no ragubiibu wa (.) hoteru yanen kedo.
8			(0.6)
9		Mami	e ii[: ne.
10		Akihito	[sore- sore wa (0.4) sugu (.) soko no (.) ura ni aru.
11			(0.4)
12		Mami	atashira: (0.3) gasshuku tte ittsumo (.) gakkoo yatta yo.
13			(0.9)
14		Akihito	°nn:::.°
15		Akihito	demo uchi: (0.5) no gakkoo kara ragubii tottara nanmo nokorahen.
16		Mami	nan- (0.7) kanemochi ya ne.
17		Mami	hu hu.
18		Akihito	°u:n.°
19	→	Mami	.hh demo sa::, atashi mo sa::::, kookoo n toki ni sa::, suggoi ne: nanka (.) iyana maneejaa ga otte ne::¿
20		Akihito	un.
21		Mami	honde ¿ne:: (1.0) son- sontoki wa::::, bukatsu de::::, [gasshuku (.) gakkoo de atta wake yo::. [STORY]
22		Akihito	[un.
23		Akihito	un.

★English translation

1		Mami	But I envy you that you could stay in various camps for training.
2		Akihito	Uh huh.
3		Akihito	I mean, it's like-
4			(0.8)
5		Mami	But the place is-
6		Akihito	That was (the hotel) chosen by our school all along.
7		Akihito	And in high school we stayed in a lodging house... I mean our high school rugby team stayed in a hotel.
8			(0.6)
9		Mami	I envy you.
10		Akihito	That (hotel) was right behind (the school).
11			(0.4)
12		Mami	We used our school as a training camp.
13			(0.9)
14		Akihito	Mm.
15		Akihito	But if you take rugby from us there will be nothing left.
16		Mami	That's rich.
17		Mami	Hu hu.
18		Akihito	Uh huh.
19		Mami	But like... in high school I also had very nasty managers.
20		Akihito	Uh huh.
21		Mami	And then... we had our training camp at school as part of club activities.
22		Akihito	Uh huh.
23		Akihito	Uh huh.

Mami begins a new topic with *demo* (but) (line 19). Although *demo* literally means "but", it can be used by speakers to claim the floor in Japanese discourse (Ono, 1999). Mami says *.hh demo sa::, atashi mo sa::::, kookoo n toki ni sa::, suggoi ne: nanka (.) iyana maneejaa ga otte ne::¿* (but like... in high school I also had very nasty managers), transforming the past events into a story. Mami is giving an abstract of the story. Mami gets Akihito into the storyworld by means of this abstract, i.e. a brief summary of the whole story. It contains the personal pronoun *atashi* (I) and the

dependent particle *mo* (also). Together, *atashi mo* (I also) highlights shared experiences between the participants. Akihito says *un* (uh huh) and accepts hearing the story (line 20).

Mami works this story as second to the preceding one in two steps. First, she evaluates the story just told by Akihito (line 16). Second, by saying *atashi mo* (I also), she indicates that she had a similar experience in high school (line 19). With this abstract, she claims the floor to tell her story. Akihito's *un* (line 20) signals approval and acknowledges Mami's claim to tell a story.

3.3.5 Summary discussion

The Japanese participants in this study go through turn by turn interactive sequences to display to one another whether and to what extent they are available for a kind of interaction, i.e. telling a story. I shall consider first the context in which stories are prompted by the recipient. Recipient-initiated stories necessarily involve the use of questions. Rather than starting with a direct story-eliciting question, the recipients proceed in steps in getting the other person to tell stories as in J2 and J3.

J2 (Teller: Kazuyuki + Listener: Yumi)

1		Yumi	jaa sono sukii tte yuu no wa:, ni↑hon de yoku sareru n desu ka?
2		Kazuyuki	a mochiron, [nihon desu kedo ne¿
3		Yumi	[a ha.
4		Yumi	jaa sono: (.) saisho no toki tte yuu no wa, [°nani ga atta n desu ka?°
5	→	Kazuyuki	[saisho- AA.
6	→	Kazuyuki	saisho wa: (0.8) °ano° sukii tte TAKAKATTA n desu yo:.

★English translation

1		Yumi	So when you say skiing... do you do that often in Japan?
2		Kazuyuki	Ah of course... (I go skiing) in Japan.
3		Yumi	A ha.
4		Yumi	Then uhm... when you skied for the first time what happened?
5		Kazuyuki	The first time- ah.
6		Kazuyuki	The first time... uhm skiing was expensive, you know.

J3 (Teller: Yoko + Listener: Shun)

1		Shun	ee:::tto ano::: (.) MAE:: (.) e: indo ni: (.) irashita to iu hanashi o ukagatta n desu [ga:.
2		Yoko	[ee.
3		Shun	itsu goro deshita ka sore wa.
4		Yoko	MOO sore koso (.) sanjuunen gurai mae daroo to omoimasu ne:.

```
5       Yoko            choodo:: ano::: (.) indo to pakisutan ga:, saishoni ano: (.)
                        <sensoo hajime[ta: (.) koro deshita node.>
6       Shun                          [hoo:::, °taihenna toko deshita [ne.°
7       Yoko                                                          [ee.=
8       Shun            =ee.=
9       Yoko            =ee.
10                      (0.5)
11      Shun            mata- (.) dooyuu kikkake de:: indo ni irashita n desu ka?
12 →    Yoko            e, ↑indo ni itta no wa: (.) tamatama sono::::: (.) ee::: nan
                        desu ka ima no: ano::: heewabutai no (0.5) morumotto mitaina
                        kata[chi de         ] okuridasareta n [desu keredomo.
13      Shun                [°hoo hoo hoo.°]                  [ee ee ee.

★English translation
1       Shun            Uhm... I've heard that you were in India some time ago.
2       Yoko            Yeah.
3       Shun            When was that?
4       Yoko            Well I think it was about thirty years ago.
5       Yoko            Uhm... it was just at the time when India and Pakistan went
                        to war.
6       Shun            Oh, that was a terrible time, wasn't it?
7       Yoko            Yeah.
8       Shun            Uh huh.
9       Yoko            Yeah.
10                      (0.5)
11      Shun            How come you went to India?
12      Yoko            Uhm I was sent to India as... uhm... what do you call it
                        now... a kind of guinea pig of the Peace Corps.
13      Shun            Oh.  Uh huh.
```

In J2, the listener (Yumi) and the teller (Kazuyuki) are mere acquaintances at best, and in J3, the participants (Shun and Yoko) are academic colleagues who do not know each other well. In these instances, the recipients start off with primary questions, i.e. closed questions (line 1 of J2 and line 3 of J3) which introduce new topics, and ask secondary questions, i.e. open questions (line 4 of J2 and line 11 of J3) which seek to develop the topics introduced by the primary questions. A possible explanation for this behaviour is that Japanese are sensitive to factors such as a degree of familiarity between people (Kubota, 1999). The sentence final particle *ka* in these utterances functions as a question particle (Chino, 2000: 127-129). The tellers answer the questions asked (line 2 of J2 and lines 4 and 5 of J3), but begin to tell a story only when specific questions are asked (line 6 of J2 and line 12 of J3). In both instances, the tellers begin their narratives with an orientation.

Looking at the interactions between two close friends of equal social status (e.g. university students), the examples can be divided into two types: in J4, the

recipient asks an open question seeking information about how her friend spent the winter holidays, and in J5, the recipient evokes shared knowledge through tag questions.

```
J4 (Teller: Masae + Listener: Eriko)
1       Masae           eriko wa::,
2       Eriko           u::n.
2a      Masae           kagawa ni::, huyuyasumi kaetteta n da yo [ne?
3       Eriko                                                    [un un un un.
4                       (0.8)
5       Eriko           sanjuuichinichi ni, [.h girigirini.
6       Masae                               [°a ha.°
7       Masae           °hee.°
8       Eriko           hmm masae wa .hh.
9 →     Masae           e watashi: wa:,
10      Eriko           u:n.
11                      (0.9)
11a     Masae           baitoshitete::.
12      Eriko           u:n.

★English translation
1       Masae           You...
2       Eriko           Uh huh.
2a      Masae           went back to Kagawa for the winter holidays, didn't you?
3       Eriko           Yeah yeah yeah yeah.
4                       (0.8)
5       Eriko           At the last minute on the thirty-first.
6       Masae           A ha.
7       Masae           Hmm.
8       Eriko           How about you?
9       Masae           Uhm as for me...
10      Eriko           Uh huh.
11                      (0.9)
11a     Masae           I was working part-time.
12      Eriko           Uh huh.

J5 (Teller: Hiroki + Listener: Hoshoku)
1       Hoshoku         maa::: ore::: no: (.) maa huuzoku taiken¿, a ha
2       Hiroki          un.
2a      Hoshoku         toka bakabanashi tte no wa sonna ya kedo:.
3       Hoshoku         o↑mae mo (.) taigai (0.5) ore ni makehen yaro.
4       Hiroki          HA HA .hh.
5       Hoshoku         °ne.°
6 →     Hiroki          a::no ne:::: ore (.) ima ninen jan.
7       Hoshoku         han.

★English translation
1       Hoshoku         Well... that's my experience with the entertainment and
                        amusement trades a ha
2       Hiroki          Uh huh.
2a      Hoshoku         or silly talk... that's about it.
3       Hoshoku         You must have much broader experience than me.
4       Hiroki          Ha ha.
5       Hoshoku         Right?
6       Hiroki          Uhm... I'm a second-year student now, right?
7       Hoshoku         Hmm.
```

In J4, the recipient formulates an open question and invites the other person to tell a story (line 8). In Japanese, the object (as well as the subject) can be omitted when it is known or obvious. Therefore, a fully-qualified sentence of *masae wa* (and you?) (line

8) would be *masae wa nani o shimashita ka* (what did you do?). As noted above, the sentence final particle *ka* shows that it is a question. Regardless of the fact that the participants in J4 are close friends, there is questioning on the part of the recipient to invite the teller to begin a story, which is similar to the observation made for J2 and J3, with the main difference being that close friends do not require extra steps in establishing a conversational footing.

Thus recipient-initiated stories in Japanese may involve a series of questions, especially when the relationship of the participants (J2, J3) is one which is not intimate. Through these questions, the participants build up to begin a story. Two participants of equal social status (J4, J5) are likely to begin a story with less such prefatory interaction. Either way, the teller begins a story with an orientation.

The next context is one where stories are initiated by the teller. Although Maynard (1989: 101) lists seven different strategies that Japanese speakers use for the purpose of narrative production, including a conventionalised preface, it turns out that such conventionalised prefaces are not found in the Japanese corpus for this study.

```
J6 (Teller: Akiko + Listener: Miyuki)
11      Akiko           so[:re wa moo zenbu dame tte kiitete:.
12      Miyuki            [u:::::n.
13      Miyuki          un.
14                      (1.0)
15 →    Akiko           NANKA ATASHI: .hh ↑saisho::: kita toshi wa::: (0.9) zenze::n
                        (.) maa rakkii datta mitai na n dakedo >hikkakattenakatta no
                        ne< (.) [keneki ni.
16      Miyuki                  [°un un.°

★English translation
11      Akiko           I had heard that they were no good.
12      Miyuki          Uh huh.
13      Miyuki          Uh huh.
14                      (1.0)
15      Akiko           Like the first year... I was lucky, I guess, nothing failed
                        to pass quarantine inspection.
16      Miyuki          Uh huh.

J7 (Teller: Miki + Listener: Taeko)
27      Taeko           okinawa ka::.
28 →    Miki            u:n (.) okinawa ne:: (.) taihuu de tomattari toka ↑ne:.
29      Taeko           e: nani: (0.5) nanka (.) chokuge[ki:.
30      Miki                                            [soo soo dakara ↑taihuu ga
                        kite::, yonagunijima tte yuu tokoro ni yojikan kakete itta wa
                        ii n dakedo:,
31      Taeko           u:n.
```

```
31a     Miki            hune de::.
32      Taeko           u:n.

★English translation
27      Taeko           Oh Okinawa....
28      Miki            Yeah, Okinawa... a typhoon struck us, you know.
29      Taeko           What?  Did it hit you directly?
30      Miki            Yeah yeah, I mean a typhoon came and although we went to a
                        place called Yonaguni Island spending four hours,
31      Taeko           Uh huh.
31a     Miki            by ship.
32      Taeko           Uh huh.

J8 (Teller: Junko + Listener: Yuko)
13      Yuko            madamada iku ↑zo:.
14      Junko           soo soo soo.
15      Yuko            [°hee:::::.°
16 →    Junko           [tokoroga watashi mo ne, shiken ni ochita koto ga aru n desu
                        yo.
17                      (1.0)
18      Yuko            kubi:: [saigo made-
19      Junko                  [°iya iya° iya kubiage no shiken ja-nakute ne.
20      Junko           °nan dakke naa::° (0.5) choodo ne:, sannen- daigaku sannen no
                        toki ni:[:,
21      Yuko                    [°u:n.°
21a     Junko           sannen (.) to yonen ni na[ru toki no: sannenkan owatta gurai.
22      Yuko                                     [°u:n.°
23      Junko           .h ano:: (1.0) °nan da° (0.3) >isshuukan gurai no gasshuku ga
                        atte::[:.<
24      Yuko                  [u:n.

★English translation
13      Yuko            (You are thinking) "I can keep this up".
14      Junko           Yeah yeah yeah.
15      Yuko            Hmm.
16      Junko           But there was a time when I failed a test, you know.
17                      (1.0)
18      Yuko            (A test to see who could keep raising) their neck the
                        longest-
19      Junko           No no no, it wasn't a neck-lifting test.
20      Junko           What is it... it was right at (the end of) the third year in
                        university,
21      Yuko            Uh huh.
21a     Junko           shifting to the fourth year from the third year, around the
                        time when three years had been completed.
22      Yuko            Uh huh.
23      Junko           Uhm... what is it... there was a camp for about a week.
24      Yuko            Uh huh.
```

The techniques used in the data consist of discrete devices produced consecutively: (a) in line 16 of J8, *watashi mo* (I also) signals that the utterance is produced with reference to the prior talk, that is, the speaker indicates that he/she has a story in mind which bears some or a great deal of relevance to the preceding topic of conversation, and (b) an abstract in line 28 of J7 and line 16 of J8 that gives the main theme of the story, which differs from a story preface in that an abstract resembles a thematic prediction of what the text is going to be about by introducing the central element of the story. Alternatively, a teller may initiate a story proper and invite audience

participation by providing background information (orientation) to the text as in line 15 of J6.

In contrast to a pre-sequence pair in English where a proposal (e.g. story preface) and acceptance would be expected (Sacks, 1972, 1974), the tellers therefore achieve entry to a narrative by an abstract (J7, J8) or an orientation (J6), often with the personal pronoun *watashi/atashi* (I) (J6, J8). Interestingly, all three stories (J6, J7, J8) begin with a past tense + *n da kedo/n desu* yo (line 15 of J6, line 30 of J7 and line 16 of J8). This could be a kind of conventional opening to a story, or a shift between turn-by-turn talk and narration. However, regardless of how tellers introduce a story into the ongoing talk, the absence of a story preface in J7 and J8 has the effect that the recipients produce a clarification sequence (line 29 of J7 and line 18 of J8) before they encourage tellers to continue talking. When the tellers begin their stories, the listeners send a go-ahead signal by saying, for example, *un* (uh huh) (lines 31 and 32 of J7 and lines 21 and 22 of J8).

The single instance of a second story in Japanese has been shown to be similar to speaker-initiated stories in terms of sequencing.

```
J9 (Teller: Mami + Listener: Akihito)
15      Akihito         demo uchi: (0.5) no gakkoo kara ragubii tottara nanmo
                        nokorahen.
16      Mami            nan- (0.7) kanemochi ya ne.
17      Mami            hu hu.
18      Akihito         °u:n.°
19 →    Mami            .hh demo sa::, atashi mo sa::::, kookoo n toki ni sa::,
                        suggoi ne: nanka (.) iyana maneejaa ga otte ne::¿
20      Akihito         un.

★English translation
15      Akihito         But if you take rugby from us there will be nothing left.
16      Mami            That's rich.
17      Mami            Hu hu.
18      Akihito         Uh huh.
19      Mami            But like... in high school I also had very nasty managers.
20      Akihito         Uh huh.
```

The second teller offers to tell a story by an abstract in line 19 of J9, giving a thematic summary of the story. First narrators now take the audience role with *un* (uh huh) in line 20 of J9, verbally encouraging the second narrator to keep talking. This indicates mutual recognition that the story may begin.

3.3.6 Conclusion

The data have shown that the relationship of the participants plays an important role in the way stories are introduced into talk. This is especially apparent in recipient-initiated stories. That is, the prefatory interaction between two people of different social standing (J2, J3) is likely to be longer than that of those who know each other well (J4, J5). One could argue that two people who are not so close require extra steps in establishing a conversational footing. In speaker-initiated stories, the tellers tend to signal a story by producing the personal pronoun *watashi/atashi* (J6, J8), followed by an abstract (J7, J8) or an orientation (J6), in place of a story preface. A second teller (J9) evaluates the first teller's story and then takes up a turn to tell a narrative through an abstract, the function of which is to mark a transition from the first story to the second story. The next section will present the Australian data.

3.4 Analysis of the Australian data

3.4.1 Introduction

In this section, all nine Australian stories will be examined for the purpose of identifying story initiation. Once again, the opening sequences of three Australian stories already presented in Chapter 2 are re-presented in this chapter. The fragments of the data will be divided into three categories: (i) recipient-initiated stories, (ii)

speaker-initiated stories and (iii) second stories. The analysis of data will focus on the turns leading up to and inclusive of beginnings of stories.

I will show that the recipient asks an open question in order to invite the teller to begin a story (recipient-initiated stories), (ii) the teller signals a story by a story preface (speaker-initiated stories) and (iii) second tellers take up a turn and offer to tell a story by an abstract or a story preface (second stories).

3.4.2 Recipient-initiated stories

As before, due to the nature of the task, there are more recipient-initiated stories than might be expected in everyday storytelling (Ochs et al., 1992). In the Australian data, there are four recipient-initiated stories.

- A1

A1 shows a straightforward elicitation by the listener and a prompt entry into the story by the teller. Jo and Deborah are co-workers in the same company. One day, Deborah and her husband hosted an afternoon tea party for a small group of people. Deborah asks Jo about her hitchhiking experience.

Teller: Jo
Listener: Deborah

1	Deborah	jo, tell us about (.) when you were hitchhiking¿
2 →	Jo	.hh well, when i was overseas (.) training for skiing in (.) colorado, uhm (.) often (.) like sometimes i w- (.) i would (0.3) the buses kind of wouldn't be coming when i needed to get somewhere so i would .hhh hitchhike around a little bit.
3	Jo	.h an' uhm (.) >which isn't something i would normally do but in the ski kinda:< (.) feels like a safe thing to do. [STORY]

This sequence consists of Deborah's question (line 1) and Jo's answer (line 2). Deborah elicits a personal experience story by formulating an open question *jo, tell us about (.) when you were hitchhiking¿* and selects Jo as the next speaker (line 1). Jo

takes a deep breath, marks her response with *well* and supplies an orientation without silence (line 2), that is, she begins the story immediately. In his study of oral narrative in English, Norrick (2001: 853) has suggested that *well* is used as an organisational discourse marker to signal the beginning of a story. Conversation analysts have observed that, as a turn-initiator, *well* reveals little about the construction and/or length of the turn it introduces (Schiffrin, 1987: 102; Sacks et al., 1974).

- A2

As with the previous example, A2 demonstrates a prompt entry into the narrative frame. Stephen and Matthew both work for the Australian Parliament House. Stephen is a draftsperson and Matthew is an engineer. They have not been long acquainted with each other. Matthew knows that Stephen has a story about the sauna.

Teller: Stephen
Listener: Matthew

1		Matthew	steven, you got a story about the:: uh (.) gay sauna ↓i understand.
2			(1.5)
3	→	Stephen	when i lived in sydney, i would go to the saunas occasionally.
4			(1.5)
5		Stephen	[a::n'-
6		Matthew	[occasionally?
7		Matthew	how- how often is occasionally.
8		Stephen	maybe (.) once a week¿
9			(0.4)
10		Matthew	mm hm.
11		Stephen	a:[:nd uh-
12		Matthew	[>fairly frequently shall i say.<=
13		Stephen	=the one night (.) that i went (1.0) i:: (.) particularly enjoyed the wet sauna because i c'n go there an' perspire¿ [STORY]

In line 1, Matthew asks an open question *steven, you got a story about the:: uh (.) gay sauna ↓i understand.* This utterance can prompt a story. In effect Matthew is asking to hear a story. Given that a question has been produced, the addressed recipient can produce a relevant answer as the next speaker. In other words, the sequence has been

initiated. Matthew has selected Stephen as the next speaker. There is (a) *the::*, (b) *uh*, (c) *(.)*, (d) increment with *I understand* and (e) *sauna*, all of which show some interactional work to get things going. Stephen's turn starts with *when i lived in sydney, i would go to the saunas occasionally* (line 3). It consists of an orientation (background information) of the story.

- A3

The following example demonstrates that both the listener and teller are prompt in establishing the narrative frame. Damien and Emma have been a couple for six years. They were temporarily separated but one weekend Damien came to visit Emma's house for a reunion. Emma asks Damien about his pet experiences.

Teller: Damien
Listener: Emma

1	Emma	what were these (.) uhm (1.0) a ha ha .hh what were your experiences of having pets as a child?
2		(1.0)
3 →	Damien	we were always (1.0) >i don't know< (.) not really a family that had (0.7) pets.
4		(0.5)
5	Damien	like, >i don't think< (0.4) tsk (.) my mum's family di:d like had dogs, but .hh >dad never did have anything¿< [STORY]

This sequence consists of a question and an answer, although there is a break in contiguity (1.0-second silence in line 2) between the question and the answer. When Emma asks an open question *what were these (.) uhm (1.0) a ha ha .hh what were your experiences of having pets as a child?*, she selects Damien as the next speaker (line 1). Damien's response reflects an evaluation of his family *we were always (1.0) >i don't know< (.) not really a family that had (0.7) pets* (line 3). Damien attributes the evaluative remark to his family's behaviour towards pets in general and begins to tell a story, providing Emma with an orientation (background information).

- A4

This segment is taken from a conversation between old friends who met after a commitment ceremony which was held in Australian National Botanic Gardens. John is a public speaker and Meredith is a primary school teacher.

Teller: John
Listener: Meredith

1	Meredith	tsk john, morris (.) uhm (.) said (.) that there are not (0.7) >very many people that climb mount cook.<
2	Meredith	like he said "there's (0.5) hardly any".
3	Meredith	an' i said "↑no:: there is a few:".
4	John	°y[ep.°
5	Meredith	[is ↑there or ↓not.
6		(0.3)
7	Meredith	'cause i know you have.
8		(0.3)
9 →	John	yep (.) when we: uhm (0.8) the year that (0.8) clive an' i climbed it, we were the twelve hundredth to ascend (0.6) mount cook.
10	Meredith	°oh:::: that's not-°=
11	John	=so that was .hhh that was very interes[ting.
12	Meredith	[that's not that many.
13		(0.5)
14	John	uhm (0.5) but there's been about (.) six hundred an'::::: something climb mount everest. [STORY]

Meredith recalls what her husband said about the number of people who climb Mount Cook *tsk john, morris (.) uhm (.) said (.) that there are not (0.7) >very many people that climb mount cook,< like he said "there's (0.5) hardly any", an' i said "↑no:: there is a few:"* (lines 1-3). John comes in and acknowledges what Meredith says *°yep°* (line 4). Meredith then produces a question *is ↑there or ↓not* (line 5) and adds a supportive statement *'cause i know you have* (line 7). She is facilitating John's talk. At this point John has been given an extended turn for the production of the story. It also shows that Meredith is ready to be a story recipient. The story is introduced by an orientation by which John gives details about the background *yep (.) when we: uhm (0.8) the year that (0.8) clive an' i climbed it, we were the twelve hundredth to ascend (0.6) mount cook* (line 9). In this example, Meredith (listener) refers to her prior knowledge (i.e. Mount Cook) concerning the teller (line 1), asks a closed question

(line 5) and says she understood it that way (line 7) in order to get a story from the teller.

3.4.3 Speaker-initiated stories

This subsection will explore the characteristic properties of speaker-initiated stories, although coming out of the task of telling stories. There are two speaker-initiated stories in the Australian data.

- A5

This example shows how a conversational story preface is used in a talk between friends. Karina and Fiona are friends from their childhood. They are talking about pets, including Karina's pet rabbit Flopsy.

Teller: Karina
Listener: Fiona

1		Karina	an' the cat?
2		Fiona	((coughs)) .hh apparently he's as big as ever::.
3		Karina	i- hu:::::::: he's huge a ha ha ha.
4			(0.6)
5		Fiona	he's gets bored he's so: bo:red here.
6		Karina	a ha ha.=
7		Fiona	=like he needs a decent (0.5) area to run a↑round.
8			(0.4)
9		Karina	yeah:.
10		Fiona	what he really needs is a rabbit to chase.
11		Karina	yeah::: (0.3) °like my rabbit ↑flopsy.°
12		Fiona	YEAH:::: flopsy will be great here.
13		Fiona	i' c'd- it'd entertain the ca:t.
14		Karina	yeah:::.
15			(0.5)
16		Karina	[d-
17		Fiona	[>so that< the cat wouldn't be so bored an' he c'd (0.4) you kno:w would take the rabbit as well as george.
18		Karina	a ha: (0.5) did [i-
19		Fiona	[it doesn't hurt him.
20			(0.8)
21		Karina	a:::: ha ha.
22	→	Karina	.hh did i tell you about (.) when i first got ↑flopsy::.
23			(0.6)
24		Fiona	°no:: you didn't.°
25		Karina	yeah::::.
26		Karina	well when i first bought flopsy i uhm (0.9) i went down to the:: (0.5) fyshwick (1.2) markets¿
27		Fiona	mm [hm::.
28		Karina	[an' they got a pet (0.5) pet shop there¿
29		Fiona	yeah:.
30		Karina	an' i went into the pet shop.
31			(1.0)
32		Karina	.h a:::::n' i saw these rabbits. [STORY]

A display of story triggering is achieved by a story preface *.hh did i tell you about (.) when i first got ↑flopsy::* (line 22) which cites an element of prior talk *flopsy* (lines 11-12). The story preface is framed as a question, inviting a second pair part. Fiona accepts the proposal, signalling and acknowledging Karina's right to tell a story *no:: you didn't* (line 24). Fiona now takes a recipient role. These turns form the passage to the body of the story. In line 26, Karina introduces orientation of the story. This segment supports previous research (Sacks, 1974) on the use of story preface that says stories can be locally occasioned by means of a story preface.

- A6

Below is an example of a story triggered at a particular moment by ongoing talk. Both Nicholas and Peter are public servants. They are friends who often visit each other's residences at the weekends. They are talking about trees in the grounds of Peter's house.

Teller: Nicholas
Listener: Peter

1	Nicholas	they're the pinoaks.
2	Nicholas	they're terrible.
3	Peter	it's there to have [them all fall on the ground, blow away:,
4	Nicholas	[tsk.
4a	Peter	an' let the sunshine through.
5	Nicholas	the:: (0.8) but these (1.3) >these look a little bit later than mi::ne.<
6	Peter	these will fall.
7	Peter	they'll all go::, >but i think it'll only be in a couple of weeks time.<
8	Nicholas	mm.=
9	Peter	=tsk.
10		(2.1)
11	Nicholas	.hh °it's° (0.6) you can see them when you wake up in the morning from the bedroom win[dow-
12	Peter	[°exactly.°
13	Peter	FA:LL YOU FUCKERS (.) FALL!
14	Peter	that's what i say when i see them in the morning¿
15 →	Nicholas	that reminds me when i-
16	Peter	a .hh ha.
16a	Nicholas	when i had my:::: (.) eyes¿,
17	Peter	.hh.
17a	Nicholas	the surgery on my eyes.
18		(0.8)
19	Nicholas	tha:: i::: was talking to:::: (.) friend mike sullivan.
20	Nicholas	he said the best thing-
21	Nicholas	i wasn't sure whether to do it or not.
22	Nicholas	°c's it seemed a bit dangerous to me.° [STORY]

Sequential implicativeness (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973: 296) explains why Nicholas needs to state explicitly that he is about to tell a story, using a story preface such as *that reminds me* to be interpreted as related to immediately preceding talk (line 15). Peter giggles at line 16. The transcript shows no later moves from Peter so that his early turn at line 16 is the closest thing to accepting the story. In other words, Peter has an opportunity to speak but he doesn't. As Nicholas leaves silence (line 18), he is not treating this as acceptance. The silence may not be an acceptance, but it is at least not a blocking move for the story, and so the story goes ahead anyway. Anything short of rejection of the story as tellable will lead to a story being told (Sacks, 1992), and so the interaction here is not problematic, even though there is no explicit go-ahead response.

3.4.4 Second stories

The following data will show that second stories occur in certain types of conversational setting, where one participant conceives the other person as having experienced a similar happening. Participants achieve thematic relevance with preceding stories either through emulating the same content or introducing elaborations to the topics presented in preceding narratives. There are three second stories in the Australian data.

- A7

This example shows initiation of a story by the teller in connection with a common complaint by children illustrated by the other person. Penelope and Zebulon are classmates in the same university. They sometimes study together in the library and chat away at intervals. Zebulon has been talking about how he hurt his foot

playing soccer in about year eight. Penelope then introduces a story about how she got stoned a couple of years ago.

Teller: Penelope
Listener: Zebulon

1		Zebulon	she didn't believe me that maay foot was stra:ined.
2			(0.8)
3		Zebulon	she took me to: th' doctor after that.
4		Zebulon	she's going THERE'D BETTER BE SOMETHING WRONG WITH YOU BO::Y.
5		Zebulon	ha.
6			(0.5)
7		Zebulon	took (.) takes me in.
8			(0.7)
9		Zebulon	uh:::: (.) gets me to have an x-ray an' find out my foot was broken in about (.) five places.
10		Penelope	oh:: my go:d.
11		Zebulon	ha:.
12		Penelope	an' wh- what about your friend.
13		Penelope	did he have a sore foot, too?
14		Zebulon	no:: unfortunately.
15		Penelope	yeah a ha.=
16		Zebulon	=ha.
17		Zebulon	i was the one who copped the worst of it.
18		Penelope	i'll bet.
19		Zebulon	hmm (1.0) so yeah::.
20	→	Penelope	yeah, my mum did that (0.4) well (.) sort of did that to me once.
21		Penelope	this is a pret- pretty bad story actually.
22		Penelope	HA.
23		Penelope	.hh i:: a- couple of years ago i went to a party an' i hadn't had any dinner (0.6) uh::m (.) 'cause i'd- (.) i'd- (.) go:ne with a friend to her: (.) mum's house (0.9) an' >played monopoly with her an' my little sister until eleven o'clock at night.<
24		Penelope	so my friend an' i went to this party an' i was SO::: (.) hungry 'cause i hadn't had any dinner. [STORY]

Zebulon provides the point of the story (line 17), and Penelope evaluates Zebulon's experience (line 18). Zebulon completes his story with *so yeah::* (line 19). Penelope produces an abstract *yeah, my mum did that (0.4) well (.) sort of did that to me once* and indicates that her story equates with Zebulon's experience, i.e. mother's failure to offer credulity (line 20). Penelope adds an evaluation *this is a pret- pretty bad story actually* (line 21). She continues with her story by providing an orientation. Zebulon listens silently and aligns himself as recipient of the story (lines 21-24). There is no story preface in this segment. Rather, the second teller initiates a story through evaluation of the first teller's story (line 18) and an abstract (line 20). The second teller also adds an evaluation of her story (line 21).

- A8

A8 is taken from a conversation between friends. Through common interests, Philip, an aspiring musician, and Kurt, a postgraduate, have formed a casual friendship. Prior to this interaction, Philip has been telling a story about his unpleasant experiences in Samoa.

Teller: Kurt
Listener: Philip

1	Philip	°you know° (.) i mean you- you read the:: ↓uh::m (1.0) uh:::: (0.5) lonely planet sty:le (0.9) gui::des an' they say, "↑he:y you kno:w (.) hang out with a samoan family an' go an' do this".
2	Kurt	m[m::::::.
3	Philip	[but (0.3) i mean (.) you just ca::n't [because .hhh you're
4	Kurt	[yeah:::::.
4a	Philip	gonna stay with them you are expected to sort of (.) pay for things an' give them (1.3) you know give them presents an' shit like that.
5	Philip	before we got there i mean i wasn't working i was on the dole i had no money at al[l so it was surreal an' bizarre
6	Kurt	[mm::.
6a	Philip	[for me to be having this like- tropical holiday an'
7	Kurt	[°a ha ha ha° .hh HA HA HA HA .hh HA HA.
7a	Philip	they're all looking an' going you rich bastard.
8	Kurt	A [HA.
9	Philip	[an' stuff like this (.) so.=
10	Kurt	=yeah:::::.
11		(0.4)
12	Kurt	'cause this is a thing like the- (.) yeah:::: the- worst thing about it (.) from:: the whole cruise ship perspective is that you're just (.) you're there for a da::y.
13		(0.5)
14 →	Kurt	>'cause i just remember< like (.) michael was telling me about it the other da:y, °my younger brother,° but it's like (0.8) 'cause i- i went on a couple of these <cruises> (0.4) as well (.) with my mum, when i was about sixteen or whatever.
15		(1.0)
16	Kurt	an' yeah::: (0.3) 'cause you're there for a da:::y (.) it seems so seasonal it seems like (.) all these things are sort of organised for the da::y that the ship .hh with all the rich whities turns up (.) into the city::. [STORY]

When Philip has completed his story by saying *an' stuff like this (.) so* (line 9), Kurt immediately provides an acknowledgment token *yeah::::* (line 10). He then expresses his personal views about the cruise ship (line 12). With the story preface *'cause i just remember* Kurt announces that he has a story in mind (line 14). Kurt then introduces the principal character *michael* and signals that it is a third-person narrative. Thus, Kurt achieves entry into a story by incorporating an evaluation of Philip's talk in line

12 and by including a story preface in line 14. Philip gives a demonstration of attentiveness by being silent, encouraging Kurt to continue telling the story. In this example, the story preface on the part of the second teller is produced to achieve entry to a second narrative and to get the first teller to be an audience.

- A9

The example below illustrates an instance in which the teller assigns a proper transactional signal (i.e. an abstract) at the beginning of the story. Prior to this interaction, Michaela has been telling Rhani a story about the time when she and her mother went to Italy a couple of years ago. The gist of the story is that one night while Michaela and her mother were sleeping in bed, the motel staff came in and ransacked all their bags.

Teller: Rhani
Listener: Michaela

1	Michaela	.h but because (.) when we first saw it, we knew there was so much security to get in::: an' (.) it looked like a really safe place.
2	Rhani	yeah:.=
3	Michaela	=it was just incredible to think that (.) you could just go somewhere an' pay for room (0.6) °an' people would still come in an'° (0.8) ransack HA HA HA.
4	Rhani	it's crazy isn't it i mean like i- i would (1.0) i'd leave all my stuff in a motel room¿ because i'd ra:ther leave it there than carry it (0.9) on me in a street >because peo[ple see you< you stand out as a tourist.
5	Michaela	[YE:S.
6	Michaela	definitely.
7		(0.4)
8	Rhani	an' so::: i'd leave it all there an' my bags an' whatever an' just trust that the cleaner an' the::: (0.8) uh:m: (0.3) maid or whatever:¿ (.) you know the bedmakers an' all that sort of stuff w- wouldn't steal it.
9	Michaela	yeah.
10		(1.2)
11	Rhani	but (.) if they even come in: while you're sleeping in BED
12	Michaela	yeah[:.
12a	Rhani	[an' have the nerve to stay an' stick around an' ransack all your:: (.) bags (.) that's ↑crazy.
13	Michaela	yep, definitely.
14		(1.0)
15 →	Rhani	i've heard [some scary-
16	Michaela	[°we were very shocked.°
17	Michaela	HA HA HA [HA.
18	Rhani	[yeah:?
19		(1.0)
20	Michaela	hm.
21 →	Rhani	i've heard some (.) YEAH FOR SURE.
22		(0.5)
23 →	Rhani	i've heard some scary stories uhm (0.9) in italy actually:¿ (0.6) similar s- sorts of things¿
24	Rhani	i just really::
25	Michaela	mm::[:.

25a	Rhani	[bizarre:: (0.8) rip-offs¿
26		(0.3)
27	Michaela	YEP.
28		(0.3)
28a	Rhani	an' stuff like that¿
29	Rhani	like my uncle: (1.0) i always thought of the cousin type thing¿ but he's about (.) forty (.) forty-five >something like that.<
30	Rhani	my mum's cousin¿
31	Michaela	mm hm.
32	Rhani	he went over to italy. [STORY]

In line 11, Rhani provides an evaluation on the first story recounted by Michaela. Rhani's utterance in line 15, which gets overlapped by Michaela's evaluation (°*we were very shocked*°) (line 16), shows that she is taking up a turn and offering to tell a narrative. Michaela laughs in line 17. What Michaela's laughter does is present an interpretation of the story, as a certain kind of story, and her evaluation of it. Michaela utters *hm* (line 20) in response to Rhani's supportive minimal response *yeah:?* (line 18). In line 21, Rhani makes a second attempt at initiating a story but instead acknowledges Michaela's previous comment (line 16). For the third time, Rhani successfully takes up a turn and offers to tell a story *i've heard some scary stories uhm (0.9) in italy actually:¿ (0.6) similar s- sorts of things¿, i just really:: bizarre:: (0.8) rip-offs¿, an' stuff like that¿* (lines 23-24). This is an abstract which ensures coherence with the immediately preceding context of conversation. That is, Rhani indicates that it is a scary story similar to the one just recounted by Michaela. Michaela aligns herself as a story recipient by saying *mm:::* (line 25) and *YEP* (line 27). Michaela does not begin a new topic herself. One can see that Michaela is verbally encouraging Rhani to keep talking. There is no story preface in this segment. Rather, the second teller initiates a story through evaluation of the first teller's story (line 11) and an abstract (lines 23-24).

3.4.5 Summary discussion

As far as recipient-oriented stories are concerned, getting a story started might typically include an open question about the other person's experience. The example below (A1) has a few markers (marked in Bold type) to show that it takes a while to build momentum. Similarly, the examples below (A2 and A3) have silence (marked in Bold type) to a question which may mean that the teller needs time to think of an utterance, but then it means that the recipient's question, for the teller, was the sort of question that requires planning to answer. This kind of silence suggests that the potential storyteller is busy with utterance planning.

A1 (Teller: Jo + Listener: Deborah)

1	Deborah	jo, tell us about (.) when you were hitchhiking¿
2 →	Jo	**.hh well**, when i was overseas **(.)** training for skiing in **(.)** colorado, uhm **(.)** often **(.)** like sometimes **i w- (.)** i would **(0.3)** the buses kind of wouldn't be coming when i needed to get somewhere so i would .hhh hitchhike around a little bit.

A2 (Teller: Stephen + Listener: Matthew)

1	Matthew	steven, you got a story about the:: uh (.) gay sauna ↓i understand.
2		**(1.5)**
3 →	Stephen	when i lived in sydney, i would go to the saunas occasionally.

A3 (Teller: Damien + Listener: Emma)

1	Emma	what were these (.) uhm (1.0) a ha ha .hh what were your experiences of having pets as a child?
2		**(1.0)**
3 →	Damien	we were always **(1.0)** >i don't know< (.) not really a family that had (0.7) pets.

Although the storytellers may require a few moments of silence, the Australian speakers (both recipient and storyteller) appear to be task-oriented in the sense that they achieve the goal of telling a story through one question and an answer for that question. This is not affected by the degree of familiarity between the interlocutors. The participants in A3 are intimate, while those in A1 and A2 are work colleagues. In all of these examples, the recipients ask open questions and invite the other person to begin a story, as in line 1 of A1, line 1 of A2 and line 1 of A3. For example, in A3,

the recipient (Emma) uses an open question to seek information about general topics *what were your experiences of having pets as a child?*

As opposed to recipient-initiated stories, speaker-initiated stories include a proposal (story preface) on the part of the teller.

```
A5 (Teller: Karina + Listener: Fiona)
17      Fiona       >so that< the cat wouldn't be so bored an' he c'd (0.4) you
                    kno:w would take the rabbit as well as george.
18      Karina      a ha: (0.5) did [i-
19      Fiona                       [it doesn't hurt him.
20                  (0.8)
21      Karina      a:::: ha ha.
22 →    Karina      .hh did i tell you about (.) when i first got ↑flopsy::.
23                  (0.6)
24      Fiona       °no:: you didn't.°
25      Karina      yeah::::.
26      Karina      well when i first bought flopsy i uhm (0.9) i went down to
                    the:: (0.5) fyshwick (1.2) markets¿

A6 (Teller: Nicholas + Listener: Peter)
13      Peter       FA:LL YOU FUCKERS (.) FALL!
14      Peter       that's what i say when i see them in the morning¿
15 →    Nicholas    that reminds me when i-
16      Peter       a .hh ha.
16a     Nicholas    when i had my:::: (.) eyes¿,
17      Peter       .hh.
17a     Nicholas    the surgery on my eyes.
18                  (0.8)
19      Nicholas    tha:: i::: was talking to:::: (.) friend mike sullivan.
20      Nicholas    he said the best thing-
21      Nicholas    i wasn't sure whether to do it or not.
22      Nicholas    °c's it seemed a bit dangerous to me.°
```

This study supports previous research (Sacks, 1974) in that tellers do not simply begin a story without acceptance from the audience. One device is a story preface *did i tell you about when i first got flopsy?* in line 22 of A5 which implies participation. The listener accepts such a preface and gives a go-ahead signal by saying *no, you didn't* in line 24 of A5. There is a case in which the recipient does not give a go-ahead signal after the teller announces that he has a story to tell in lines 15-16a-17a of A6. The speaker continues on with the story, but only after silence at the transition relevance point (line 18 of A6), giving the recipient an opportunity for a verbal acceptance. One could argue that a verbal acceptance is expected, but need not be uttered.

One way to show understanding upon a story's completion is the telling of another story — a second story — selected as apposite to the one which has just been told. Here are the examples.

```
A7 (Teller: Penelope + Listener: Zebulon)
17      Zebulon         i was the one who copped the worst of it.
18      Penelope        i'll bet.
19      Zebulon         hmm (1.0) so yeah::.
20 →    Penelope        yeah, my mum did that (0.4) well (.) sort of did that to me
                        once.
21      Penelope        this is a pret- pretty bad story actually.
22      Penelope        HA.
23      Penelope        .hh i:: a- couple of years ago i went to a party an' i hadn't
                        had any dinner (0.6) uh::m (.) 'cause i'd- (.) i'd- (.) go:ne
                        with a friend to her: (.) mum's house (0.9) an' >played
                        monopoly with her an' my little sister until eleven o'clock
                        at night.<
24      Penelope        so my friend an' i went to this party an' i was SO::: (.)
                        hungry 'cause I hadn't had any dinner.

A8 (Teller: Kurt + Listener: Philip)
8       Kurt            A [HA.
9       Philip            [an' stuff like this (.) so.=
10      Kurt            =yeah::::.
11                      (0.4)
12      Kurt            'cause this is a thing like the- (.) yeah:::: the- worst
                        thing about it (.) from:: the whole cruise ship perspective
                        is that you're just (.) you're there for a da::y.
13                      (0.5)
14 →    Kurt            >'cause i just remember< like (.) michael was telling me
                        about it the other da:y, °my younger brother,° but it's like
                        (0.8) 'cause i- i went on a couple of these <cruises> (0.4)
                        as well (.) with my mum, when i was about sixteen or
                        whatever.

A9 (Teller: Rhani + Listener: Michaela)
13      Michaela        yep, definitely.
14                      (1.0)
15 →    Rhani           i've heard [some scary-
16      Michaela                   [°we were very shocked.°
17      Michaela        HA HA HA [HA.
18      Rhani                    [yeah:?
19                      (1.0)
20      Michaela        hm.
21 →    Rhani           i've heard some (.) YEAH FOR SURE.
22                      (0.5)
23 →    Rhani           i've heard some scary stories uhm (0.9) in italy actually:¿
                        (0.6) similar s- sorts of things¿
24      Rhani           i just really::
25      Michaela        mm::[:.
25a     Rhani               [bizarre:: (0.8) rip-offs¿
26                      (0.3)
27      Michaela        YEP.
28                      (0.3)
28a     Rhani           an' stuff like that¿
```

Second stories are a way of acknowledging and validating the other person's experience. Entry into a second story can be accomplished through an evaluation of the first story *yeah, the worst thing about it from the whole cruise ship perspective is that you're just there for a day* in line 12 of A8 promptly followed by an indication of

a story initiation *'cause i just remember* in line 14 of A8. Likewise, the teller may offer a matching experience *i've heard some scary stories in italy actually similar sorts of things* in line 23 of A9. These utterances constitute an abstract of the story. Tellers may also provide listeners with an overview of the story *yeah, my mum did that (0.4) well (.) sort of did that to me once* in line 20 of A7. Similar to a speaker-initiated story as in A6, second stories involve silence from the audience which is the first step in listening to the tellers. Silence makes the recipients an audience, i.e. they take on that role and signal listenership. This can be observed from the transcripts which show no utterance from the audience after the stories begin in line 20 of A7 and line 12 of A8.

3.4.6 Conclusion

The data (A1, A2, A3) have shown that the participants enter into the narrative frame in one question and an answer. That is, the recipient asks a question, and the teller begins to tell a story, even though the tellers may require a bit of time to plan an utterance. This pattern is not affected by the relationship of the participants. As for speaker-initiated stories (A5, A6), the use of story preface seems essential as a way to make a proposal to tell a story and to get the other person to be a recipient. This finding supports the view held by researchers in this area, i.e. Sacks (1974). Second stories (A7, A8, A9) involve an evaluation of the story, followed by either an abstract (A7, A9) or a story preface (A8). Regardless of how a story is introduced into conversation, there are many cases (A6, A7, A8) where the listener's explicit verbal acceptance is missing. It may be that the recipient is using silence to encourage the teller to keep talking. The next section will compare Japanese and Australian stories.

3.5 Comparison of Japanese and Australian story initiation

The preceding sections have shown what happens in Japanese and Australian story initiation. The data suggest some culture-specific patterns of interaction. Tables 12 and 13 below capture some linguistic features of story initiation in the corpus.

Table 12: Some linguistic features of story initiation in Japanese narratives

	Recipient	Teller
J1 (recipient-initiated)	• introduces a topic • encourages teller to talk	• takes time to begin a story • orientation
J2 (recipient-initiated)	• asks (i) a closed question and (ii) an open question	• orientation
J3 (recipient-initiated)	• introduces a topic • asks (i) a closed question and (ii) an open question	• orientation
J4 (recipient-initiated)	• asks an open question	• orientation
J5 (recipient-initiated)	• seeks agreement • evocation of shared knowledge	• orientation
J6 (speaker-initiated)	• signals approval	• *atashi* (I) + orientation
J7 (speaker-initiated)	• asks clarification questions	• abstract
J8 (speaker-initiated)	• asks a clarification question	• *watashi mo* (I also) + abstract
J9 (second story)	• signals approval	• evaluates teller's first story • *atashi mo* (I also) + abstract

Table 13: Some linguistic features of story initiation in Australian narratives

	Recipient	Teller
A1 (recipient-initiated)	• asks an open question	• *well* + orientation
A2 (recipient-initiated)	• asks an open question	• orientation
A3 (recipient-initiated)	• asks an open question	• orientation

A4 (recipient-initiated)	• refers to prior knowledge of others • asks a closed question • adds a supportive statement	• orientation
A5 (speaker-initiated)	• signals approval	• story preface
A6 (speaker-initiated)	• absence of acceptance	• story preface
A7 (second story)	• absence of acceptance	• evaluates teller's first story • abstract • evaluation
A8 (second story)	• absence of acceptance	• evaluates teller's first story • story preface
A9 (second story)	• signals approval	• evaluates teller's first story • abstract

In what follows, I will discuss these findings from a comparative perspective.

The elicitation requests that the prospective teller tell a narrative. In the recipient-initiated stories, the listener makes an initiating move. This is followed by a turn in which the teller responds to the listener's elicitation (e.g. a question). The data show that, having been given access to the floor by the audience, both Japanese (J1, J2, J3, J4, J5) and Australians (A1, A2, A3, A4) display readiness for a narrative performance. However Japanese stories (J2, J3) tend to involve more than one question-answer pair before tellers actually begin a story. One possible explanation for this behaviour is that the Japanese may be sensitive to factors such as a degree of familiarity between the teller and listener. I would like to argue that starting off with closed questions and narrowing down the focus with open questions fills in the silence and establishes a conversational footing. In other words, the recipients begin on the periphery of a topic and subtly and delicately narrow the focus. This analysis is supported by the fact that the interactional pattern between two people of equal social

status (J4, J5) appears to be different from the previous examples (J2, J3). In J5, for example, the recipient asks tag questions and evokes shared knowledge in order to elicit a story from the teller.

The Australian data provide evidence for uniform patterns. The listener (A1, A2, A3) asks open questions to prompt the teller, and the teller enters into the narrative frame in a straightforward manner, regardless of the relative degree of closeness between the participants (A1, A2, A3). The tellers are invited to formulate, on the basis of such open questions, their past experience.

The speaker initiation examples show that the prospective narrator makes an offer to tell a narrative. The Japanese data (J6, J7, J8) show that prospective tellers do not project a clear story preface. They signal that they have a story to tell by constructing an abstract of their story (J7, J8). They then wait for the other person's reactions. The tellers begin a story upon receiving an acceptance signal from the recipient. Such a signal therefore works like a story preface, designed to achieve entry to a narrative and to get other participants to be an audience. In the absence of a story preface, the recipient (J7, J8) may ask for a clarification question. To this extent the Japanese participants show interest in the topic to facilitate entry into storytelling. This is different to the Australian participants who explicitly request a chance to tell a story through a story preface in order to elicit audience participation in advance.

The Australian participants (tellers) achieve entry into a story from turn-by-turn talk through a conventional story-prefixed phrase (A5, A6). This finding is consistent with prior research (Jefferson, 1978: 220) that shows that in English there is a story triggering signal. The recipient may send a go-ahead signal either verbally (A5) or through silence (A6). Silence is part of the verbal world. It is verbal because silence is an option to doing something verbal like talking. The use of silence to a

story preface seems to appropriate for the Australian participants. Most usually the teller continues on with a narrative, but only after silence at the transition relevance place, giving the listener the right to provide a verbal acceptance. By remaining attentive yet silent, the recipient encourages the teller to keep talking. This is different to the Japanese recipients (J6, J7, J8) who explicitly signal verbal acceptance and acknowledge the teller's right to tell a narrative.

The second stories show a similarity between Japanese and Australians with respect to the way in which the participants produce an abstract to signal a second story. In both Japanese and Australian stories (J9, A7, A9), abstracts are systematically used to signal that speakers have a second story to tell. Second stories show marked similarities of topic, theme and character of events with preceding stories. A way to show understanding of someone's story is to tell a second story. Second tellers work the first story up into something like "we must live in the same world because I have had a similar experience". Because so many stories recounted in conversation are ones in which the teller figures as a character of some sort, a key aspect for a recipient in tracking stories in the course of the teller's telling is for the recipient to be alert to elements of his/her own experience from which an appropriate second story can be fashioned for delivery on completion of the story being told (Sacks, 1992). With regard to encouraging the second teller to keep talking, the Japanese participant (J9) verbally acknowledges the story abstract from the other person while the Australian participants (A7, A8) may rely on silence.

A closer look at Japanese stories reveals a recurrent pattern whereby listeners give a go-ahead signal to speakers by means of a minimal response (J1, J3, J4, J5) or a clarification question (J7, J8). However, the absence of a go-ahead signal is common in the Australian stories (A6, A7, A8). Although a teller (A6) may take a moment's

silence to give the recipient the opportunity to turn for a verbal acceptance, they continue on with a story anyway. Silence seems to be a strong verbal message that conveys to the other person: "I want to hear your story". Thus the two cultural groups differ in the preliminary set-up work accomplished in a story preface or preface sequence. It may have been that in the Australian data a non-verbal go-ahead was given in the form of a head nod or teller-directed eye gaze. Unfortunately, I do not have video data of the storytelling episodes.

Different cultures have certain rituals which to some extent conventionalise and make routine, conversational openings. Indeed, the whole dynamic of story initiation seems to differ markedly from Japanese culture to Australian culture, as far as recipient-initiated stories are concerned. For example, J1 and J3 could mean that for the Japanese participants, getting a story started can be a difficult endeavour under optimum circumstances. By "optimum" I mean that the participants have been given an environment free of constraints to tell a story in front of a tape recorder. It could be that Japanese idealised self-image, or "face" (Kato and Kato, 1992), is at stake every time they undertake any sort of public performance. The Japanese notion of "face" encompasses saving face or avoiding embarrassment. This awareness and accompanying anxiety about the consequences of appearing inept may inhibit them or affect their performance in other ways. Thus, there is possible embarrassment as an inhibitor of story initiation. In contrast, Australian participants appear to be much more task-oriented in their communication concerns and style (Storti, 1999). Their story initiation is short and direct. From the data analysed, it was shown that relatively impersonal separation of message and interlocutor seems quite common and accepted in the setting where participants were asked to tell stories.

3.6 Conclusion

The task of telling stories shows interesting possible cultural differences in beginning a story. An analysis of the Japanese data provides insights into how cultural awareness shapes the interaction leading up to the start of stories. That is, the relationship of the participants determines the way common ground is established. This is not the case with the Australian participants. Prompt entry into the narrative frame is called for, regardless of the relationship of the teller and listener. In speaker-initiated stories, the Japanese participants tend to signal a story somewhat indirectly, as compared to the Australian participants who indicate that they have a story in mind with a story preface. Although both Japanese and Australians do something to assign a transitional significance at the beginning of a story to be reported, there appear to be cultural differences in the way the teller elicits a recognition response on the part of the listener. However, this contrasts with the similar way in which second stories are introduced into talk, at the completion of the first story, between the two cultural groups.

In this chapter, the topic of sequences of story initiation was discussed as joint productions involving both the narrator and the recipient. In the next chapter, I will look further into the interactive features of the narration, i.e. a range of contributions which can be made by the recipient of stories.

Chapter 4

The construction of listening

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 examined the pattern of story beginnings. This chapter examines the role of the listener in storytellings. It looks at how listeners recognise and reinforce the teller's story, how they indicate understanding, how they give permission to continue the extended turn, how they direct or affect the story in some way, or how they correct or repair something the teller said. All of this requires work and organisation on the part of the participants (Neuliep, 1996, 2000).

An oral narrative is not a single unbroken utterance, but one which is punctuated by turns from the recipient. Numerous studies have shown that, in ordinary conversation, the production of long multi-unit turns normally involves the active collaboration of recipients through the production of small bits of vocal behaviour (Gardner, 1994, 2001; C. Goodwin, 1979, 1981, 1986a, 1986b; Jefferson, 1984b; Oreström, 1983; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1982; Sorjonen, 2001). However, these turns cannot be seen as utterances which break up the story turn. They are sequentially organised features of the storytelling itself. Following Gardner (1994, 2001), I will call these small speech signals uttered by recipients in storytelling "response tokens" because the term includes a range of activities that the audience of a narrative can perform. In the next section, I will take the reader through six common response tokens and their common usages.

4.2 Common response tokens

4.2.1 Introduction

This section gives a comprehensive and critical literature review of the complexities of defining the activities of the listener in language production. Some scholars (e.g. Gardner, 1994, 2001; Reid, 1995) go through each of the types of activities that participants who are in the role of listener can perform. For example, Gardner (2001: 2) outlines seven different types of response tokens that are common in casual talk in English. These are:

1. continuers which hand the floor back to the immediately prior speaker, e.g. *mm hm*;
2. acknowledgments which claim agreement or understanding of the prior turn, e.g. *yeah*;
3. newsmarkers which mark the prior speaker's utterance as newsworthy in some way, e.g. *oh*;
4. change of activity tokens which mark a transition to a new topic in the talk, e.g. *alright*;
5. assessments which evaluate the talk of the prior speaker;
6. brief questions which are attempts to clarify or seek repair; and
7. collaborative completions where one speaker completes the previous utterance of the other speaker.

These are the unmarked contributions which can be made by participants in a primary listener role. Gardner emphasises that these response tokens should be interpreted according to their placement within a sequence of talk and that prosodic features are especially important. Although it is impossible to provide an exhaustive interpretation of response tokens with reference to prosodic features (e.g. intonation and rate of speech) in this chapter, it is my belief that prosody clearly plays an important role in response tokens. Therefore, when discussing listener behaviour with regard to prosodic features, care will be taken to ensure that this information is included in the transcription.

The types of response tokens to be discussed in this chapter include: (i) minimal responses, (ii) assessments, (iii) collaborative completions, (iv) repetitions, (v) questions and (vi) laughter. Minimal responses include "continuers" (e.g. *mm hm*)

and "acknowledgments" (e.g. *yeah*) as defined by Gardner (2001). Notwithstanding the complex and subtle meanings associated with words like *okay*, *yeah* and *mm* in English, these items are treated together in this chapter because they reassure the other person that he/she is being heard and listened to. I have chosen the above six items for analysis as they appear to be pervasive on the part of the recipient of a story. Although non-verbal responses such as head nods and eye gaze also play an important role in conversation, I will not analyse these phenomena in this chapter due to the data collection methodology.

4.2.2 Minimal responses

This category constitutes those linguistic forms (e.g. *hmm* or *uh huh*) which the listener employs to indicate that he/she is the recipient. The definition of a "minimal response" in the literature is vague; studies of minimal responses have been concerned with a variety of different behaviours under the same label, and objects such as *uh huh*, *mm hm*, *mm* and *yeah* have generally been assumed to be prevalent in ordinary conversational interaction. Prior research into minimal responses can be broadly divided into three groups: (i) the pioneering works by Fries (1952) and Kendon (1967) demonstrating the relevance of bits of talk, marginal words, vocalisations and other related behaviours, (ii) the introduction of the term "backchannel" from an interactional perspective by Duncan (1973, 1974), Duncan and Fiske (1977) and Yngve (1970) recognising vocalisations such as *uh huh*, *mm* and *oh* as well as a wider range of utterance types which the listener intersperses throughout a speaker's talk and (iii) conversation analytic approach by Gardner (1997, 2001), C. Goodwin (1986b), Jefferson (1981, 1984b) and Schegloff (1982) focusing on different

responses with respect to their placement within the unfolding activities. In the following, I will consider these three different groups in more detail.

The earliest work in this area was developed by Fries' (1952) empirical study of telephone conversations. He investigated utterances "that were accompanied (not necessarily followed) by very brief oral signals of attention interjected at irregular intervals but not interrupting the span of talk" (p. 42). Fries suggests that these signals of attention are not predictable and that they do not interfere with the flow of the speaker's utterances. Rather, they serve to signal that the hearer is listening attentively to the speaker. Kendon (1967: 43) refers to these sorts of signals as "accompaniment signals", i.e. "... the short utterances that the listener produces as an accompaniment to a speaker, when the person is speaking at length".

Yngve (1970) recognises this notion and offers the term "backchannel communication" for all these non-primary turns. Yngve considers that the various devices are used to indicate attention and interest. This concept is expanded to include a broader range of utterance types, including (a) questions, e.g. *you've started then?* and (b) short comments, e.g. *oh, I agree*. In keeping with Yngve's proposal, Oreström (1983: 23) notes that utterances are divided into "speaking-turns" and "back-channel items", where the latter term marks both lexical and non-lexical responses, representing rather special functions where the listener informs the speaker that his/her message has been received, understood, agreed to and/or has caused a certain effect.

Duncan (1973, 1974) and Duncan and Fiske (1977), however, include five types of behaviour in their definition of backchannel. These include (i) terms like *mhm*, *yeah* and *right*, (ii) sentence completion, (iii) brief requests for clarification, (iv) brief restatements and (v) head nods and shakes in their definition of a backchannel.

For Duncan and his associates, therefore, backchannels continue to be viewed as a listener's signal of participation.

Minimal responses are usually referred to in the CA literature as "continuers" and have been studied extensively because how conversation participants negotiate speakership is an important issue in CA. Schegloff (1982) shows that "continuers" exhibit the understanding that another turn is still in progress by passing up an opportunity to produce a full turn. Schegloff distinguishes primary speakership from non-primary speakership in conversation, and points to the interactional function of minimal responses used by the non-primary speaker. He argues that continuers such as *mm hm*, *uh huh*, *yeah* or *right* display a recipient's understanding that a turn-in-progress is not complete, even though a possible transition relevance place may have been reached. In other words, the role of continuers such as *uh huh* is to provide a particular understanding through production of an action fitted to that understanding and to pass up opportunities for repair, indicating "no problems so far" (p. 80-81).

Jefferson (1981) discusses a variety of minimal responses — ranging from the choice between *yeah* and *mm hm* as acknowledgement tokens to recipient assessments, commentaries and enquiries — which may be produced, and understood to be produced, as adumbrative or implicative of some attempt at topic shift. Jefferson (1984b), in her study of "acknowledgement tokens" or "minimal continuers", further shows that, while *mm hm* is a token of "passive recipiency", the production of *yeah* commonly adumbrates some topic-shifting or topic-curtailing activity by its producer. Taken together, it is appropriate to note that *mm*, like *uh huh* and *mm hm*, have been assumed to be the ones that are least likely to be followed by the same speaker talk (Jefferson, 1984b: 200).

C. Goodwin (1986b) shows that continuers are produced by the recipient of the talk for a twofold purpose: to indicate an awareness that the primary speaker's talk is not yet complete as well as to indicate that he/she will continue to yield the floor to the primary speaker, without either initiating a longer stretch of speech of his/her own or producing some type of understanding check in response to any portion of the talk just heard (p. 205).

It seems apparent that different continuers appear to be associated with different tasks. To recapitulate, Jefferson has noted that *yeah* is massively associated with shifts in topic and suggested, therefore, that one function of *yeah* is to exhibit a preparedness to shift from recipiency to speakership. In contrast, *mm hm* invariably exhibits the continuer function.

Gardner's work in this area (1994: 105) identifies a characteristic of *mm* in Australian English, in which it serves as a completer of the immediately prior talk. Gardner points out:

> It does not project continuation by the speaker of the turn it is oriented to, but is primarily retrospective, with implicature of closure of that bit of talk. If it projects anything, then that is something like 'let's move on to next matters', whether these matters be further talk by the prior speaker on the current topic, or talk on a new topic by the *mm* producer. (p. 105)

His research shows that *mm* is an object that is saying that its producer has nothing substantial or new to add to the topic of the talk to which it is oriented. Although Schegloff and C. Goodwin discuss American English, Gardner has shown that minimal response tokens in Australian English are in fact similar to American English.

For the purposes of this chapter, in line with the CA tradition, I assume that minimal responses incorporate both continuers and acknowledgments. They commonly take the form of short vocalisations such as *yeah*, *uh huh*, *mm*, *I see*, and so forth. I follow the CA perspective which exerts a systematic pressure towards the minimisation of turn size. Stories are characterised by an imbalance, where normally tellers' lengthy turns tend to be acknowledged by continuers (Heritage and Greatbach, 1991: 101).

Minimal responses will be shown to be interspersed throughout the narrative at strategic points in order to display an understanding on the part of the listener that an extended unit of talk is underway and that it is not yet completed. According to conversation analysts, minimal responses mostly occur at or near major grammatical boundaries, serving as transition relevance places for turntaking (Sacks et al., 1974; Hopper, 1992). In particular, works by Oreström (1983) and C. Goodwin (1986b) suggest a tendency for continuers (i.e. minimal responses) to overlap with the primary speaker's contribution, in such a way that they serve as bridges between two TCUs. In order to treat the data in a consistent manner, I regard one or several minimal response tokens as one minimal response if they are adjacent in time even if they appear in different tone units (e.g. *mm::: mm:::*). In contrast, one or several minimal response tokens are regarded as separate minimal responses if they are separated by several words or by silence of more than one second duration (e.g. *yeah, that's true, yeah*).

Typical minimal responses in each of the two languages found in my data include those found in Table 14.

Table 14: Typical minimal responses in the Japanese and Australian data

Japanese	English
aa	mm

un	hm
ee	hmm
oo	mm hm
haa	uh huh
hun	yes
hee	yeah
hoo	right
hai	

Using these minimal responses, listeners indicate their engagement in the narration. Thus, the occurrence and frequency of minimal responses show some measure of intensity of the interaction.

4.2.3 Assessments

To the listener assessments are expressions of attitudes or opinions that indicate evaluation of the content of the story. Unlike minimal responses, assessments sometimes take the form of words expressing a degree of agreement, words of judgment, and words of sympathy and approval, among other things. In what follows, I will review what conversation analysts have said about assessments.

Schegloff (1982) contends that assessments such as *oh wow* and *gosh, really?* are essentially an elaboration on continuers. That is, assessments occur in much the same environment and have similar properties to continuers, but in addition express a brief assessment of the previous utterance. Furthermore, in a study by Heritage (1984a), *oh* is distinctive in that its producer has undergone some change of state of current knowledge, information, orientation or awareness and hence that it is extensively used specifically as an "information receipt" in conversation.

C. Goodwin (1986b), C. Goodwin and M. H. Goodwin (1987) and C. Goodwin and M. H. Goodwin (1992) have closely scrutinised the interactive nature of assessments. C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin have shown how the fine tuning of the

placement of brief assessments before the end of a current speaker's turn can be taken by the speaker as highly collaborative and supportive, and manifests a well-developed ability on the part of the speakers and hearers to time their utterances to display co-participation. Their analysis reveals that assessments in English tend to occur not when a turn construction unit sounds intonationally or grammatically complete, but while the primary speaker's turn is still fully in progress, thereby allowing for substantial stretches of non-competitive simultaneous talk. In short, C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin limit assessments to brief utterances which in some way support the primary speaker.

For the purposes of this chapter, assessments will be defined as expressions which are used when the listener expresses some kind of reaction to what the teller is saying. They are more descriptive, responsive and forceful than minimal responses. Through assessments, then, the listener (i) identifies and sorts out his/her emotions as well as the teller's emotions, (ii) evaluates different points of view, (iii) probes to gain consistency with his/her point of view or (iv) interprets the behaviour of the teller.

4.2.4 Collaborative completions

Collaborative completions let the narrator know the listener is trying to understand him/her. Many studies have indicated that English conversation is rich with examples of the construction of syntactic units by more than one speaker (Ferrara, 1992; Lerner, 1987, 1991; Ochs, 1979; Ono and Thompson, 1996; Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1984). The earliest studies of joint sentence productions were designed to examine the question of whether there is a continuation between prior and succeeding utterances (Sacks, 1992). Schegloff (1984: 42) states that the phenomenon of sentence completions indicates that one person knows what the other

person has in mind by saying it for him/her, as in completing his/her sentence or his/her agreement.

Lerner (1991) describes how speakers can project a compound TCU that is recognisable as such by participants. His research shows that participants in a conversation of necessity must attend to the ongoing syntax of utterances under construction. Subsequent research demonstrates a frequent type of co-construction in which speaker A leaves a syntactic unit unfinished and speaker B finishes it (Ono and Thompson, 1996: 72). The overall picture has become clear, considering evidence from conversational English data, that interaction has a clear impact on syntax.

For the purposes of this chapter, a collaborative completion will be considered as a practice of the listener adding to or complementing a verbal message and finishing what the teller would have said. This involves preempting or second-guessing the other person's utterance. A collaborative completion is defined as a syntactic unit (phrase, clause and sentence) produced by more than one speaker in which the utterance by the first speaker is taken by the second speaker as part of his/her message.

4.2.5 Repetitions

As before, this lets the narrator know the listener is trying to understand his/her talk. The conversational uses of repetitions as responses to an utterance have been reported for English. Repetitions, by locating prior items, display metalinguistic awareness. Repetition can be seen to indicate affiliation by one speaker with a previous speaker (Couper-Kuhlen, 1996; Hopper, 1992: 185). Tannen (1987, 1989) has demonstrated at length that repeating another's words creates rapport on a

metalevel. It is a ratification of the other's words, and thus evidence of participation in the same universe of discourse.

For the purposes of this chapter, repetition involves (i) repeating the message the person is making verbally or (ii) paraphrasing the meaning of the message in different words. The listener is either confirming or emphasising the other person's view. An accurate paraphrase usually includes the following four elements: (i) a sentence stem (e.g. *looks like...*, *sounds like...*), (ii) a repetition of the main ideas using some of the key words used by the teller, (iii) an essence of the previous teller's words and (iv) repair by which a listener tries to reconstruct the ongoing story.

4.2.6 Questions

The listener asks questions to clarify points that are not clear. Conversation analysts (Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Sacks et al., 1974) point out that one turn is related in predictable ways to the previous and next turns. Participants are able to understand how a turn fits into the greater structure of the conversation because turns tend to be organised into adjacency pairs, which build in a kind of matching process: greeting/greeting or question/answer (Boden, 1994: 68). According to Boden,

> Adjacent pairs of all sorts function as a kind of driving mechanism urging forward turns and topic, insistent in both design and impact. The interactional and structural force of a question demands its answer. Answers derive their status and shape from their immediate placement after a question in the ongoing flow of talk, and from their reciprocal recipient design. The one shapes the other, in predictable, precise, and patterned ways. (p. 111)

This simple point about adjacency has implications for the way conversationalists repair a problem through question asking (Fox and Jasperson, 1995; Jefferson, 1974,

1987; Schegloff, 1992). That is, a recipient may indirectly correct the mistakes of the narrator in the form of a question.

Allen and Guy (1974: 164-165) identify four discrete functions of the question:

1. a demand for an assertive response which is concentrated and focused on the information content of the question;
2. an assertion in interrogative form which seeks agreement, consent, acceptance or confirmation;
3. a direction or redirection of the topical flow and a call for a change in subject matter; and
4. a call for clarification, repeating, verification or more detailed information.

What is most relevant to listener behaviour in narration is the fourth type of question which essentially helps to carry or support the continuity of the narrative. Stenström (1984: 262) notes that cooperativeness is not just a matter of question and response; the person who asks the question shows what he/she thinks of the response, whether he/she likes it or dislikes it, whether he/she is surprised at it, etc. or otherwise acknowledges receipt of information by a simple *mhm*, *I see*, and so on, referred to as a follow-up.

For the purposes of this chapter, then, there will be basically two types of questions in narration: (i) information gathering questions which seek to obtain facts or opinions and (ii) clarifying or specifying questions which help to make abstract or general ideas more specific. When a person asks a question, there is a firm preference for the other person to answer or at least to acknowledge the question.

4.2.7 Laughter

Laughter is a way in which interlocutors transform a variety of emotions. In charting laughter for sequential analysis, one cannot overlook Jefferson's (1985)

detailed transcription system of laughter. Her study has made available a rich corpus of data from which substantial findings are emerging. In such investigations, the goal has been to determine patterns in laughter, including the patterns by which two parties share laughter. Laughter is specifically invited by a variety of techniques at isolable recognition points (Jefferson, 1979: 80) at which recipients may recognisably accept, or decline, invitations to laugh (Jefferson et al., 1987).

Jefferson (1984a: 348) shows that, in the case of laughing "with" as opposed to laughing "at", the storyteller need not definitively take the floor. For laughter to occur, the teller must in some way allow for the occurrence to happen and does so by including his/her own laughter into his/her story. In such an instance the recipient's laughter is seen to affiliate with the teller, as it has been invited. Jefferson also notes that laughing "with" happens when the teller has laughed first, and recipient laughter follows.

Jefferson et al. (1987) also consider the role of laughter in the context of "improper" talk. With regard to laughter as a component of a sequence, it appears that relevantly positioned laughter may be used to exhibit appreciation of the impropriety to which it responds and thus establishes an environment in which the impropriety may be further escalated. Conversely, laughter may be withheld to forestall such an escalation.

What has become apparent is that laughter occurs in response to a variety of different aspects of talk. It is systematically and precisely placed and calibrated with respect to the range of interactional activities which its producer will be understood to be performing. It is clear not only that funniness is created contextually, but also that laughter is strongly socially organised and geared to the interpersonal environment in which it occurs.

For the purposes of this chapter, laughter means a sound of the voice consisting of a variable series of explosive syllables which vary in form by individuals. Jefferson's transcription system has produced a revolutionary breakthrough in the study of laughter. Whereas previous researchers and transcribers have indicated the occurrence of laughter only in vague terms, Jefferson (1985: 27-28) transcribes its actual syllables: e.g. *ahh ha ha heh heh heh*. These transcriptions reveal precise patterns in laughter, including the patterns by which two parties share laughter. Conversation participants offer each other opportunities to laugh, primarily by laughing during or after a speaking turn in shared laughter (Jefferson, 1979: 80). The analysis in this chapter draws upon laughter produced by both participants in one form or another.

4.2.8 Conclusion

CA is an approach to the study of ordinary conversation, especially with a view to determining the participants' methods of turntaking. In narration, being granted a long turn means that the narrator normally co-constructs a story with the recipient who displays an understanding of the turn through various means. Among these, continuers (e.g. *uh huh*) and assessments (e.g. *oh wow*) punctuate the speech of narrators, signifying that the narrators are forming a lengthy unit of talk. In addition, through collaborative completions, a recipient may help the narrator by co-producing the end of the turn. Sometimes, however, listeners may achieve some more elaborate interactional work through question asking. CA has thus shown that this wide range of response tokens is a manifestation of structured collaboration. That is, response tokens serve to establish the listener's ongoing availability and commit him/her to attend the narrator's next utterance.

4.3 Sociolinguistic studies related to Japanese listening behaviour

4.3.1 Introduction

The previous section reviewed various response tokens in English with an emphasis on the traditional CA principles. This section investigates how Japanese listeners produce response tokens in everyday conversation. In communicating with and among the Japanese, relationships are regarded as highly important. Listeners are expected to understand what the speaker is saying through the knowledge base they share, even if the speaker does not say the knowledge base explicitly (Minami, 1994).

4.3.2 Minimal responses

Prior research into this area has been heavily focused on one aspect of Japanese speech, called "aizuchi", i.e. basically agreeing sounds that listeners make when having a conversation (LoCastro, 1987). Although "aizuchi" resembles minimal response tokens in being short utterances, Japanese "aizuchi" has much more variety than the English "minimal responses". In addition, "aizuchi" seems to be expected by the speaker who waits for them to appear before continuing. This is not found in English conversation.

Researchers highlight the problems with characterising minimal responses. Kitagawa (1980) examines *hai* and *ee* and argues that *hai* is an acknowledgement response and *ee* is an agreement response. In characterising the functions of minimal responses, Kitagawa (1980: 115) suggests that *hai* projects the sense of "I hear you", and *ee* the sense of "I am with you (so go on)". Angles et al. (2000: 55) further demonstrate that *hai* and *ee* are used with humble and polite verbal forms while *un* is used with casual-style speech. However, McGloin (1998) argues that it is not always

easy to make a clear-cut distinction between "regular" and minimal response usages of such items as *hai*, *ee* and *un*. Other researchers (Miyazaki, 2001; Sugito, 1989) maintain that minimal responses such as *un*, *aa*, *soo*, *hee*, *hai*, *haa*, *ee* and their variants *un un*, *un un un*, *a un*, *huun* do not differ functionally and are not indicative of the hearer's emotions.

In this regard, Horiguchi (1997) shows that the common perception of the functions of minimal responses include: (i) maintenance of contact and interaction, (ii) understanding, (iii) agreement, (iv) denial and (v) emotional reactions. Similarly, Maynard (1986, 1989) proposes that functions of minimal response behaviour in Japanese may be specified at least in terms of the following six features:

1. continuer;
2. display of understanding of content;
3. support towards the speaker's judgment;
4. agreement;
5. strong emotional response; and
6. minor addition, correction, or request for information.

Maynard suggests that minimal responses usually occur during the silence between clausal units of utterance within the speaker's turn (Maynard, 1989: 174). She also claims that minimal responses often appear at clausal boundaries marked by sentence final particles including *ne*, *sa* and *yo*, as illustrated in the following example (p. 165-166).

A: daitai toshiue no sa,
(Most of them are older,)
B: uun un.
(Uh huh.)
A: onna no hito ga ooi wake.
(women, many of them are.)
B: un.
(Uh huh.)
A: moo ooeru yamete naru toka ne.
(They wish to become teachers after leaving clerical positions

at companies.)
B: hum.
(Hum.)
A: soo-yuu hito ga sa,
(And those people,)
B: hum.
(Hum.)
A: mottainai yo to ka yuu n da yo.
(say to me, "the job isn't good enough for you".)

As demonstrated in the above example, these sentence final particles are used extremely frequently in everyday conversations, expressing a speaker's communicative attitudes towards the hearers. They have been called particles of "interaction" or "rapport" (Maynard, 1990).

Using a primarily quantitative approach, there have been a few cross-cultural studies directly related to Japanese listening style. The work of White (1989) shows that Japanese give significantly more minimal responses of several kinds than Americans do, with the Japanese using approximately three times as many minimal responses as the Americans (p. 62-63). The exception is *yeah*, which correlates negatively with conversational satisfaction. White relates this finding to the Japanese cultural value of *omoiyari*, which is a key concept for understanding Japanese. It is difficult to find an equivalent term for it in English. The concept generally refers to the creation and maintenance of smooth and pleasant human interactions. This is believed to ultimately bring emotional pay-offs in human relations (p. 67).

Although White thinks that the Japanese cultural value of *omoiyari* can be roughly translated into English as "sympathy" or "consideration", it is always tricky to assert anything about the feelings of others (Kamio, 1994, 1997), and a conflation of cultural ideology and individual feelings or intentions should be carefully monitored. In my view, *omoiyari* involves noticing that others have feelings, being able to

imagine how others might be feeling, and developing a sense of desire to comfort, please or avoid hurting others. Minimal responses could be used invariably by participants between different degrees of intimacy or levels of interaction. In fact, an average Japanese speaker can produce constant minimal responses while simultaneously thinking about something else during an interaction. It would therefore seem unreasonable to establish a link between minimal responses, which in some cases may be nothing more than conventional linguistic tokens, with the psychological concept of *omoiyari*.

Clancy et al. (1996) focus on a range of "non-primary" turns, or "reactive tokens" (RTs) in their terminology, and compare the way speakers of American English, Japanese and Mandarin, use them in everyday interactions. The study shows that among the three groups, Japanese speakers show the highest frequency of RTs (p. 380). The authors (p. 380) suggest that the use of RTs is a matter of everyday discussion among Japanese people. The authors also claim that there are many anecdotal reports by native speakers of Japanese and English suggesting that a higher rate of RT use tends to characterise Japanese conversation.

Finally, a mention should be made of the observation that the production of minimal response feedback tokens depends to a large extent on the actions of the other conversation partner, not just on the volition of the one who produces them. In particular, prosodic cues from the speaker have long been thought to play a role in minimal responses from the listener. Research has shown (Horiguchi, 1988, 1997; Maynard, 1997; Mizutani, 1988; Ward and Tsukahara, 2000) that if the listener does not give any minimal responses at all, the Japanese native speaker will gradually lower the volume of the voice and slow down the speed and cease to talk in a minute or so, wondering if he/she committed anything wrong in the course of the

communication. As Maynard (1989: 174) argues, listeners perform conversational activities as they fill in a slot in a sequence of utterances.

Minimal response behaviour does not appear randomly. It appears at certain relevant moments marked by certain identifiable verbal (e.g. sentence final particles) and non-verbal devices (e.g. eye gaze) generating an expectation that a minimal response is anticipated, and perhaps even encouraged by the speaker who holds the turn. Stressing the cultural value of interdependence, T. Hayashi and R. Hayashi (1991) propose the term "mainchannel" to characterise the Japanese interaction where the collective work is achieved by both speakers and listeners. Because minimal responses clearly play an important role in Japanese conversation, it is important to analyse them in the dialogical, interactive nature of storytelling.

Although there are divergent opinions on the issue of minimal responses in Japanese, the common consensus seems to be that the listener constantly helps the speaker with minimal responses in Japanese conversation. As Iwasaki (1997: 666) notes, the main purpose of minimal responses is to respond in a supporting (i.e. non-disagreeing, non-challenging) manner to the speaker's immediately preceding or current vocalisation. In essence, saying *un* or *ee* "every once in a while" to let the speaker know that the listener is following would be the norm in Japanese discourse.

4.3.3 Assessments

Strauss and Kawanishi (1996) examine the phenomenon of assessments as a conversational activity across three languages: Japanese, Korean and American English. The authors define "assessments" as an interactive activity which involves the expressed evaluation of some entity, event, situation or state (Strauss and

Kawanishi, 1996: 150), and identify a variety of types of assessment tokens such as expressions of agreement and expressions of emotion/affect.

In the case of Japanese, Strauss and Kawanishi include extreme case expressions, i.e. expressions of non-literal totality, as emphatic markers, and onomatopoetic expressions. They suggest that in Japanese, empathy seems to be achieved intuitively yet directly, with the interlocutor frequently characterising the primary speaker's feelings and inner states, which seems to account for the high frequency of assessment tokens in general in the Japanese data. Concerning the placement of assessments, Strauss and Kawanishi (p. 155) note that Japanese allows extraordinarily long stretches of simultaneous talk during which speakers are engaged in a number of quite complex assessment activities.

Sentence final particles in Japanese discourse function as a form of assessment. As regards the usage of the sentence final particle *ne*, Cook (1990) proposes that it indicates an affective common ground between the speaker and the addressee. Kamio (1994) argues that *ne* is obligatory in expressions of emotion/affect. In this connection, Strauss (1992) argues that *ne* is not only obligatory, it is also responsible for effecting a deictic reversal for the speech participants. For example, *taihen desu ne* indicates "that was difficult FOR YOU". *Taihen desu*, without *ne*, would imply "that was difficult FOR ME" (Strauss and Kawanishi, 1996: 158).

Research suggests that showing empathy so as not to collide with each other is important for Japanese speakers. Indeed, empathy is one of the moral and behavioural standards widely accepted in Japanese society (Gerbert, 1993: 161; Tobin et al., 1989). In light of the fact that the Japanese society highly values empathy in human

relationships, a person is considered a good listener if he/she has good social skills, i.e. the ability to guess what the other person has in his/her mind.

4.3.4 Collaborative completions

Co-construction or collaborative completion of sentences in Japanese has been discussed by many researchers (M. Hayashi and Mori, 1998; Lerner and Takagi, 1999; Ono and Yoshida, 1996; Strauss and Kawanishi, 1996). Ono and Yoshida (1996: 127) argue that co-construction does not occur in Japanese when the second speaker's supply of a completion results in an intrusion on the first speaker's private territory. For example, when the first speaker is expressing his/her inner feelings, it is considered "impolite to finish another speaker's sentences or to provide additional information unexpressed by the first speaker" (Ono and Yoshida, 1996: 120).

Upon closer examination, however, there are instances in which Japanese speakers finish each other's sentences. By introducing various sequential environments in which co-construction is observed, M. Hayashi and Mori (1998) demonstrate how Japanese speakers accomplish a range of interactional tasks through co-construction, or in other words, how they utilise sequential units as a shared domain for organising their participation in ongoing interactions.

4.3.5 Repetitions

Strauss and Kawanishi (1996: 159) stress the richness of repetitions or echoing in their Japanese data. Repetitions indicate that both parties intricately and delicately collaborate with each other to co-construct each other's story to the degree that it is at times no longer possible to determine who is the primary speaker and who is the interlocutor.

4.3.6 Questions

Maynard (1989: 42-43) suggests that questions are frequently used in Japanese conversation in such a way that they are interpretable only within the frame of reference already activated by the speaker at that moment. These questions by the listener help develop established themes within the ongoing conversation. For example, A says "today I went to Fuji Television" to which B says "oh, did you?". Although B's response takes an interrogative form, it is not uttered to ask literally whether or not A actually went to Fuji Television Station because A just reported so. Rather, it is a vacuous question in that it is not being used to ask for an unknown piece of information but to help elicit further conversational interaction.

4.3.7 Laughter

People in all cultures smile and laugh, albeit for a variety of reasons. There are universal tendencies for laughter as well as a variety of culture-specific stimuli (Nakamura, 1994: 37). In Japan, expression of negative emotions in public is considered inappropriate (p. 37). Thus Japanese speakers may produce laughter in an attempt to conceal negative emotions. The constraints on expression of negative emotions are believed to be one of the causes of diversity and ambiguity of Japanese laughter (p. 37).

Hashimoto (1994: 47-48) discusses a number of coordinating functions of conversational management of laughter. One of the frequent functions of laughter in conversation is "shift of topic" or "end marker". For example, laughter in response to a poor joke projects something like "okay, let's change the subject". Furthermore, laughter accompanied by some words can signal irony.

4.3.8 Conclusion

Minimal responses as well as other types of listener feedback are useful and important to study because there may be cross-cultural differences in how listeners assist the co-construction of narration. The use of "minimal responses" and "assessments" has been studied widely in English as well as in Japanese in terms of everyday conversation. Minimal responses are also known as "aizuchi" in Japanese. It appears, however, that "aizuchi" and English minimal responses have several differences in frequency, occurrences and their meanings. It is hoped that this chapter can provide an understanding of minimal responses and other listener responses produced by Japanese and Australian participants during narration both from a quantitative and qualitative standpoint.

4.4 Results of quantitative analysis

4.4.1 Introduction

This section gives the results of the quantitative analysis. The quantitative analysis offers a synthetic view of the general characteristics of the listening style in the two languages. It includes the following subsections: (i) frequency of response tokens and (ii) distribution of response tokens.

4.4.2 Frequency of response tokens

As shown in Figures 1 and 2 (Appendix 4), a comparison of the overall frequency of response tokens (minimal responses, assessments, collaborative completions, repetitions, questions) across the two languages reveals considerable differences. The general result is that Japanese listeners provide a larger number of

response tokens than Australian listeners, with Japanese response tokens comprising an average of 49.85% of the total number of TCUs and English 29.17%. In this light, it is noteworthy that Japanese listeners play a more active verbal role in supporting the narrator, while Australian listeners play a less active verbal role.

Now I consider the types of response tokens found in my data.

4.4.3 Distribution of response token types

In looking at the distribution of listener response types, it is clear that minimal responses are the most frequent type of listener response found in narrative discourse, and assessments are the second most frequent for both languages. Tables 15 and 16 present the average percentages (per total response tokens) of the different types of response tokens, showing the similarities and differences between the two languages of this study.

Table 15: Types of response tokens in Japanese stories

	minimal responses	assessments	collaborative completions	repetitions	questions
J1	83.33%	13.33%	1.11%	0	2.22%
J2	82.14%	7.14%	3.57%	0	7.14%
J3	86.20%	10.34%	1.72%	0	1.72%
J4	78.33%	15.00%	0	0	6.66%
J5	61.64%	27.39%	1.36%	1.36%	8.21%
J6	78.57%	17.85%	3.57%	0	0
J7	62.85%	20.00%	0	0	17.14%
J8	72.04%	21.50%	1.07%	0	5.37%
J9	89.49%	6.61%	0	0	3.89%

Table 16: Types of response tokens in Australian stories

	minimal responses	assessments	collaborative completions	repetitions	questions
A1	33.33%	41.66%	0	0	25.00%
A2	37.83%	35.13%	0	0	27.02%
A3	51.85%	33.33%	0	0	14.81%
A4	54.40%	27.20%	1.60%	0.80%	16.00%
A5	52.00%	48.00%	0	0	0
A6	48.88%	22.22%	0	0	28.88%
A7	10.00%	40.00%	0	20.00%	30.00%
A8	68.00%	28.00%	0	0	4.00%
A9	56.25%	37.50%	0	0	6.25%

Table 17: The averages of listener response types

	minimal responses	assessments	collaborative completions	repetitions	questions
Japanese	77.17%	15.46%	1.37%	0.15%	5.81%
English	45.83%	34.78%	0.17%	2.31%	16.88%

While minimal responses are the preferred form of listener response in Japanese and English, there are clear differences in the relative frequencies of the three most frequent types of response tokens in the two languages.

The averages for each language are given in Table 17, which shows that Japanese listeners greatly favour minimal responses over other listener response types, though minimal responses are also the favourite listener response type in English. For Japanese listeners, the obvious favourite listener response type is the minimal response (called *aizuchi*); an average of 77.17% of all response tokens in Japanese are minimal responses. Assessments and questions are a distant second and third, comprising an average of 15.46% and 5.81% of all response tokens, respectively. Australian listeners have a much lower percentage of minimal responses, an average of 45.83%. The next most frequent types of response tokens, which are more frequent in English than in Japanese, are the assessments and questions, comprising an average of 34.78% and 16.88% of all response tokens, respectively.

Figures 3 and 4 (Appendix 4) show a further breakdown of minimal response tokens to listener response ratios for each individual story across each language. As shown in Figures 3 and 4, in Japanese, the range is between 61.64% and 89.49%, giving the mean of 77.17%. This contrasts with English data where it is between 10.00% and 56.25%, with a mean of 45.83%. This is indicative of a Japanese conversation strategy where minimal responses are seen as a mark of an attentive listener. This is strikingly different to a conversation between two Australians in which minimal responses occur much less frequently than the Japanese counterpart.

4.4.4 Summary

The purpose of this section has been to discuss the frequency of response tokens by Japanese and Australian listeners. Summary profiles of these findings by language are given in Table 18.

Table 18: Summary profiles of the story recipient in Japanese and English

Japanese	English
high frequency of response tokens	low frequency of response tokens
high minimal response ratio	low minimal response ratio
low assessment ratio	high assessment ratio
low question ratio	high question ratio

Japanese listeners use response tokens more than Australian listeners. In terms of the ratio of minimal responses to total response tokens, Japanese (77.17%) outranks English (45.83%).

Researchers can benefit from studying the frequency of response tokens to explore what language is and how it is used to achieve communicative goals in different contexts. This section reports high frequency of minimal response utterances as one of the outstanding characteristics in Japanese discourse. The frequency in Japanese is much higher than in English. However, the low frequency of minimal responses in English does not necessarily affect the progression of the narrative. Australian listeners tend to indicate attentiveness through assessments and questions, which have higher occurrences than their Japanese counterpart. In the next sections, I will present the qualitative analysis of response tokens in Japanese and Australian narration.

4.5 Qualitative analysis of the Japanese data

4.5.1 Introduction

This section explores various aspects of interaction in Japanese narration to show some of the key features of Japanese audience. The analysis of the data will

show that recipients (i) utter various minimal responses to encourage the teller to keep talking, (ii) listen empathetically through supportive assessments, collaborative completions and repetitions, (iii) ask questions so as to gain an accurate picture of the ongoing story and (iv) produce laughter responses at various points during the teller's stories to demonstrate a range of reactions.

4.5.2 Minimal responses

Minimal responses let the narrator know that the addressee is paying attention and that the narrator has continuing control of floor. For Japanese listeners, the most common response token type seems to be that of minimal responses. The following examples show how Japanese listeners might use minimal responses to indicate that they are following what is being said.

J6-1

1	Akiko	°de: (.) keneki no: hito no (.) tegami ga haittete::,°
2 →	Miyuki	un.
2a	Akiko	"kore wa iriigaru dakara:: (.) °ano:° (.) bo- bosshuu(.)itashimashita" tte:
3 →	Miyuki	un.
3a	Akiko	kaiteatta no ne.

★English translation

1	Akiko	And... a letter from AQIS was in (the box),
2	Miyuki	Uh huh.
2a	Akiko	"we confiscated the following illegal products"
3	Miyuki	Uh huh.
3a	Akiko	said the letter.

J3-2

1	Yoko	ee:::: (.) derii no taishikan no hito ni aisatsushite, nokonoko h- kisha ni notte itta n de[su ne¿
2 →	Shun	[ee.
3	Yoko	de kisha wa nanka: .h (.) ee::: nisanjikan (.) toka shigojikan okureru no wa (.) maa indo dewa atarima[e desu node:.
4 →	Shun	[ee.
5	Yoko	nandaka: (.) sorenishitemo chotto zuibun (.) yotee yori okureru naa to omotte.

★English translation

1	Yoko	Uhm... I went to pay my respects to the embassy staff in Delhi and then took a train nonchalantly, you know.
2	Shun	Uh huh.
3	Yoko	And the trains in India... like... delays of up to two to three hours or four to five hours are usual so....
4	Shun	Uh huh.
5	Yoko	But even so I thought the train was way too behind the timetable.

The excerpts J6-1 and J3-2 show that the choice of minimal response is influenced by individual differences. For instance, a dialogue between two friends in J6-1 demonstrates that the listener uses *un* (uh huh) to signal her attention (lines 2, 3). Because the participants are friends of equal levels, an informal minimal response *un* is appropriate. The use of *ee* (uh huh) is particularly noticeable when the relationship of the participants is more distant. The minimal response *ee* is a refined form of language (Angles et al., 2000: 55) as can be seen in J3-2 where *ee* is being used by senior professional colleagues (lines 2, 4). Regardless of these variations, minimal responses can be used to indicate that the listener is following what is being said.

The minimal responses may be interpolated between clausal units within the teller's turn as in the following example.

```
J9-3
1       Mami            de atashira: (.) joshikoo yakke sa:,
2 →     Akihito         un.
3                       (0.4)
3a      Mami            otoko nante oran ya::n,
4 →     Akihito         un.
4a      Mami            gakkoo ni:.
5 →     Akihito         °un.°
6       Mami            honde sa::....

★English translation
1       Mami            And we... because it's a girls school,
2       Akihito         Uh huh.
3                       (0.4)
3a      Mami            there are no boys
4       Akihito         Uh huh.
4a      Mami            at school.
5       Akihito         Uh huh.
6       Mami            And then....
```

Mami's utterance (line 1) is punctuated by three minimal responses (lines 2, 4, 5). The minimal responses appear at phrasal boundaries marked by vowel elongation and stress (lines 1-3a-4a). One could argue that tellers cut up their utterances at semantically recognisable units and facilitate listener feedback.

In the following example, I will show that the listener, by elongating the minimal response *un*, fills in some of the silence between the teller's utterances. It is possible that getting more time may be the effect.

```
J9-4
1       Mami            "sore sa:::: honto wa tankyori na n dakedo:::" mitaina:,
2       Akihito         un.
2a      Mami            yutte:::, "demo: (.) tabetakattara:: ikko gurai nara tabetemo
                        ii n ja- na:i" toka tte yuu no::.
3       Akihito         un.
4                       (0.6)
5       Mami            demo a↑tashira datte okane harattoru wake ja::n, gasshukuhi
                        tte sa::.
6 →     Akihito         u:::::::n.
7                       (0.5)
8       Mami            a ha ha ha ha .hh [de::,
9       Akihito                           [maa na.
10      Akihito         un.
10a     Mami            honde sa::::,
11      Akihito         un.
12                      (0.9)
12a     Mami            de mata ikko dake tabeta no ne::.

★English translation
1       Mami            She said like "they are really for the short-distance group",
2       Akihito         Uh huh.
2a      Mami            "but if you want to eat them I guess you can have just one".
3       Akihito         Uh huh.
4                       (0.6)
5       Mami            But we are paying board, aren't we?
6       Akihito         Uh huh.
7                       (0.5)
8       Mami            A ha ha ha ha and...
9       Akihito         I know what you mean.
10      Akihito         Uh huh.
10a     Mami            and then...
11      Akihito         Uh huh.
12                      (0.9)
12a     Mami            and again we ate one, you know.
```

In this segment, Mami is talking about the brutal behaviour of her managers (lines 1, 5). In line 6, Akihito responds with *u:::::::n* (uh huh). One could argue that Akihito is playing for time to reflect upon what the other person has just said by uttering minimal responses characterised by a vowel prolongation. This is expected as a neutral minimal response such as *un* in and of itself simply shows that the listener is attending. Thus by elongating the *un* response, the listener is able to show involvement in the teller's story.

A minimal response such as *hee* is used in response to the teller's utterance seeking empathy from the recipient (Ward and Tsukahara, 2000). Fragment J9-5 is an example.

```
J9-5
1        Mami          datte sa:, huyu no renshuu toka demo ne::, zenzen maneejaa no
                       shigoto shinakutte:.
2        Akihito       un.
3        Mami          hokenshitsu toka ni itte.
4        Mami          >hokenshitsu tte attakai jan huyu tte.<
5        Akihito       un.
6                      (0.3)
7        Mami          de hokenshitsu ni itte::, attamatte benkyoo toka shiten da
                       yo.
8                      (1.0)
9  →     Akihito       hee:::::::::.
10                     (.)
11       Mami          honde:, sooyuu no mo sensee zenbu shitteru mitai na no::,
12       Akihito       un.
12a      Mami          shigotoshinai tte yuu no mo:.
13       Akihito       un.
14                     (1.0)

★English translation
1        Mami          Because... during the winter practice the managers didn't do
                       any work.
2        Akihito       Uh huh.
3        Mami          They would go to the school infirmary.
4        Mami          School infirmaries are usually warm in winter, aren't they?
5        Akihito       Uh huh.
6                      (0.3)
7        Mami          And they would warm themselves and study in the school
                       infirmary, you know.
8                      (1.0)
9        Akihito       Hmm.
10                     (.)
11       Mami          And then... the teacher seems to know all that,
12       Akihito       Uh huh.
12a      Mami          the fact that they don't work.
13       Akihito       Uh huh.
14                     (1.0)
```

Mami is discussing an instance in which her managers acted selfishly (lines 1, 3, 4, 7). With *hee:::::::::* (hmm) in line 9, Akihito is responding to Mami's prior utterance which seeks empathy and understanding. This contrasts with the more neutral use of un in lines 2, 5, 12 and 13.

The listener in the following example appears to be in tune with the narrator. That is, she indicates to the narrator that they share similar values or experiences through doubling of a minimal response *un* (cf. Sugito, 1989; Miyazaki, 2001).

```
J6-6
1       Akiko           de::: aa nihon kara dai- nandemo::: daijoobu da na: to
                        omotte: (.) itara::, saikin wa: moo nokinami akeraretete
                        nakami ga.
2       Miyuki          °hu::::[::n.°
3       Akiko                  [de: ano: (.) teepu ga
4 →     Miyuki          un [un un un.
4a      Akiko              [hattean no ne:¿, °hako no naka chekkushimashita
                        [yo tte yuu.°
5       Miyuki          [°un.°

★English translation
1       Akiko           And... I was thinking that everything from Japan was okay but
                        recently everything has been opened, I mean the contents.
2       Miyuki          Hum.
3       Akiko           And uhm... a tape
4       Miyuki          Yeah yeah yeah yeah.
4a      Akiko           has been attached... saying the box has been opened and
                        repacked by Australia Post for examination by Quarantine.
5       Miyuki          Uh huh.
```

In line 1, Akiko explains that all parcels arriving from Japan have been inspected by Quarantine Officers in recent years. When Akiko mentions the tape, Miyuki inserts *un un un un* (yeah yeah yeah yeah), acknowledging the information presented by Akiko (line 4).

A minimal response such as *oo* is used to display enthusiasm. Fragment J8-7 is an example.

```
J8-7
1       Yuko            sannenkan de kuroobi de sensee (.) n nacchau.
2                       (0.4)
3       Yuko            kanari majina kurabu ya ne::.
4                       (0.8)
5       Junko           soo desu ne::.
6                       (0.5)
7       Junko           >un dakara<  mochiron::: .h uchi no gakunen wa zeein totta
                        keredomo, .h sono mae no gakunen wa, suumee shika tottenai.
((20 lines of transcription omitted))
8       Junko           "gakumon ga isogashikute::" nante::, chanchara: (.)
                        hazukashikute: (.) ie[naishi.
9       Yuko                                 [°un.°
10                      (1.3)
11 →    Yuko            oo::::::::.
12      Junko           soo.

★English translation
1       Yuko            In just three years you end up getting a black belt and
                        becoming an instructor.
2                       (0.4)
3       Yuko            That sounds like quite a serious club.
4                       (0.8)
5       Junko           Well, let me see....
6                       (0.5)
7       Junko           Yeah so of course... everyone in our grade got (the degree)
                        but only a few (students) passed in the previous year.
((20 lines of transcription omitted))
8       Junko           Saying things like "I'm too busy with study" seems totally
                        absurd and silly.
9       Yuko            Uh huh.
10                      (1.3)
```

11	Yuko	Oh.
12	Junko	Yeah.

Prior to this segment, Junko has been explaining how one can achieve the highest level in Shorinji-kempo in just three years. In lines 1 and 3, Yuko provides assessments, wrapping up Junko's talk. Junko acknowledges Yuko's evaluative remark (line 5) and continues talking (line 7). What Junko does in line 7 is dwell on additional background information to the story. In line 8, Junko implies that not attaining a black belt in three years cannot be justified unless there is a very good reason for it. By saying *oo:::::::* (oh) (line 11), Yuko acknowledges Junko's hard work.

The data (J6-1, J3-2, J9-4, J9-5, J6-6, J8-7) show that minimal responses within the teller's turn are a necessary component in storytelling. It should be emphasised that minimal responses tend to be prompted by the prosodic and syntactic features of the teller's utterances, as can be seen in J9-3 below. In J9-3, the utterance produced by the teller consists of three units (lines 1, 3a, 4a), each of which is marked both prosodically and syntactically. Each unit is punctuated by the listener's minimal response *un* (lines 2, 4, 5), showing how the listener is responding to the teller's prosodic/syntactic cues, rather than semantic completion.

J9-3

1	Mami	de atashira: (.) joshikoo yakke sa:,
2 →	Akihito	un.
3		(0.4)
3a	Mami	otoko nante oran ya::n,
4 →	Akihito	un.
4a	Mami	gakkoo ni:.
5 →	Akihito	°un.°
6	Mami	honde sa:::....

★English translation

1	Mami	And we... because it's a girls school,
2	Akihito	Uh huh.
3		(0.4)
3a	Mami	there are no boys
4	Akihito	Uh huh.
4a	Mami	at school.
5	Akihito	Uh huh.

6 Mami And then....

This supports previous studies (Horiguchi, 1988, 1997; Maynard, 1997; Mizutani, 1988; Ward and Tsukahara, 2000) which have shown that both the primary speaker and the listener recognise the importance of minimal responses on a moment-to-moment basis.

The present study recognises five types of minimal responses.

1. *un* (J6-1), *ee* (J3-2)
2. *u::::::n* (J9-4)
3. *hee:::::::::* (J9-5)
4. *un un un un* (J6-6)
5. *oo::::::::* (J8-7)

Although different forms of minimal responses can be linked to social issues such as age and familiarity between the conversationalists, these feedback tokens are much like nodding in that they send the message in a brief second that the floor can be kept by the teller. The observation that minimal responses can be associated with emotional reactions supports the view held by Horiguchi (1997) and Maynard (1989) yet differs from the proposal developed by Miyazaki (2001) and Sugito (1989) who say that minimal responses have nothing to do with the hearer's emotional expression. That is, categories through 2 and 4 demonstrate that the recipient can display additional emotion through elongation or doubling. These emotionally-fuelled feedback tokens appear to play an intermediate function between minimal responses and assessments. Through these tokens characterised by additional prosodic features such as elongation or doubling, the listeners maintain listenership as well as express their emotional reactions to what the storyteller is saying.

4.5.3 Assessments

A second way a listener may display that he/she is attending to the story is through assessments. In excerpt J7-8, for example, the listener is using an assessment to show "empathy". This is how the teller understands it, as evidenced by the teller's utterances (lines 4, 5) which reinforce the listener's assessments.

```
J7-8
1       Miki            poteto toka kawasete:.
2       Miki            .hh "↑arigatoo" toka itte (.) tabeteta.
3  →    Taeko           demo:: (.) hutsuu otokonoko nojuts- nojuku nara wakaru
                        kedo:[::, jibuntachi de tottoto yado iku no ga wakaranai,
4       Miki                 [u:n a ha ha ha .hh.
4a      Taeko           NE:.
5       Miki            bonbon dakara ne:.
6                       (0.4)
7  →    Taeko           a [soo na n da:.
8       Miki              [°un.°
9       Miki            bonbon dakara shikatanai yo.
10      Taeko           a ha ha ha ha.

★English translation
1       Miki            We made them buy some potatoes.
2       Miki            We said "thank you" and ate them.
3       Taeko           But... normally I understand if boys sleep in the open but...
                        I don't understand how they can go to a hotel by themselves,
4       Miki            Yeah a ha ha ha.
4a      Taeko           right?
5       Miki            That's because they had a pampered upbringing.
6                       (0.4)
7       Taeko           It's like that.
8       Miki            Yeah.
9       Miki            You can't help it because they had a pampered upbringing.
10      Taeko           A ha ha ha ha.
```

Prior to this segment, Miki explains that the boys found accommodation for themselves and made the girls sleep in the open. Miki then describes what happened next (lines 1, 2). In line 3, Taeko provides an assessment of Miki's experience, recognising her exhausting time spent in Okinawa. On hearing it, Miki produces a minimal response and laughter (line 4) and explains why the boys behaved uncaringly (line 5). As mentioned above, here Miki is reinforcing Taeko's assessment, understanding it as an empathetic remark. Taeko then reinforces Miki's view by saying *a soo na n da:* (it's like that) in line 7. Miki reiterates her position in line 9 upon hearing Taeko's supportive assessment. This interaction thus suggests that the listener is identifying with the teller in a positive way. By utilising assessment as a

resource, Taeko accomplishes participation in the ongoing sequence by aligning herself as the supportive audience. She is frequently acknowledging Miki by producing assessments of the events recounted in the story (lines 3, 7).

The end of a narrative may provoke the listener's assessments which serve important functions in closings (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 243).

```
J3-9
1        Yoko          .h keeken[shimashita.
2 →      Shun                  [sore wa:: (.) chotto osoroshii keeken deshi[ta ne:.
3        Yoko                                                              [u::n.
4 →      Shun          taihen deshita [ne.
5        Yoko                        [demo are- [are irai aayuu (.) keeken wa nai
6        Shun                                   [ee.
6a       Yoko          no[de     ] zannen de shooganai desu [a ha hu hu.
7        Shun            [ee:::.]                           [a ha.

★English translation
1        Yoko          I experienced that.
2        Shun          That was a frightening experience, wasn't it?
3        Yoko          Yeah.
4        Shun          That was hard, wasn't it?
5        Yoko          But since then I haven't had such an experience so
6        Shun          Uh huh.
6a       Yoko          I regret that a ha hu hu.
7        Shun          Uh huh.  A ha.
```

Yoko makes an overall statement about the story in the coda (line 1) whereas Shun, the listener, evaluates the incident as frightening and hard (lines 2, 4). The use of appraisal lexis such as *osoroshii* (frightening) and *taihen* (hard) resembles a concluding comment that provides summary evaluations of the whole story. In other words, Shun is evaluating Yoko's story by saying that she must have had a frightening and hard time while in India. Shun's comments are consistent with the content of the story. Shun lays stress on the particle *ne* in line 2 (the transcript show this feature), which is an agreement-seeking particle, representing something like "I think you would say the same" (Wierzbicka, 1994: 73-7).

In the following example, the teller continues with his story after having heard the listener's assessment. On the basis of its sequential placement, the assessment can

be seen as passing the opportunity to make a fuller turn at talk on the understanding that an extended unit of talk (i.e. story) is currently underway.

```
J2-10
1        Kazuyuki        de (.) watashi hajimete no de: .hh ↑soko kara: (.) rihuto
                         ↓made: (.) orite gojuumeetoru na n desu yo.
2 →      Yumi            uo:: sore shi- chikai desu [ne.
3        Kazuyuki                                   [>chikai n desu.<
4        Kazuyuki        de (0.3) shi- suberenakattara haite:, .hh (.) boogen (.)
                         oshiete(.)kureta n desu yo.
5        Kazuyuki        <ikkai> (.) sono (.) >gojuumeetoru ka sanjuumeetoru suberuto<
                         .hh "o, boogen sore da yo".

★English translation
1        Kazuyuki        It was my first time and... from there to the lift was fifty
                         metres.
2        Yumi            Oh... that's close, isn't it?
3        Kazuyuki        It's close.
4        Kazuyuki        And... I couldn't ski and (some guys) taught me a stem turn.
5        Kazuyuki        Once... uhm... when I skied fifty metres or thirty metres
                         (they said) "oh, that's the stem turn".
```

In line 1, Kazuyuki explains that his hotel was located near the ski slope. Yumi produces an assessment, commenting on the proximity of the hotel to the ski slope (line 2). Kazuyuki repeats Yumi's contribution (line 3) in overlap. Kazuyuki then continues with his story (lines 4, 5).

In the following excerpt, the listener gives an assessment and supports the teller.

```
J9-11
1        Mami            demo sono (.) n- sore made no dankai tte aru wake ja:::n.
2        Akihito         u::::::n.
3                        (0.9)
4        Mami            ne:::.
5        Akihito         u:n.
6        Mami            de atashira datte sa sonna koto sasera- sarera- ne:::,
                         saretashi sa:::.
7        Akihito         u::n.
8        Mami            ja maa (1.2) shikata wa (0.5) hidoi kamoshinnai kedo sa:,
                         mushisuru toka sa:.
9        Akihito         un.
10                       (1.4)
11       Mami            ne:.
12 →     Akihito         shaanai jan.
13                       (1.0)
14 →     Akihito         .h ma sore gurai no: (0.8) sonna n:: (1.3) yaro (.) yappari.
15       Mami            n:: joshikoo dashi ne.
16       Akihito         u::n.

★English translation
1        Mami            But there were things leading up to their treatment.
2        Akihito         Uh huh.
3                        (0.9)
4        Mami            Right?
```

5	Akihito	Uh huh.
6	Mami	And (the managers) did horrible things to us, too.
7	Akihito	Uh huh.
8	Mami	Well... how (we) handled (the situation) may seem cruel... like ignoring them.
9	Akihito	Uh huh.
10		(1.4)
11	Mami	Right?
12	Akihito	They deserve it.
13		(1.0)
14	Akihito	After all they deserve that much.
15	Mami	Well, it's a girls' school.
16	Akihito	Uh huh.

In this final portion of the narrative, Mami provides wholly external evaluations where she stops the narrative to address Akihito directly and to express an evaluation of the events (lines 1, 6, 8). Regardless of what the managers had done, in retrospect, Mami admits that punishing them by keeping them at a distance might have been a bit too cruel. Following Akihito's minimal response (line 4), Mami produces *ne:* (right?), soliciting an agreement from Akihito (line 6). Akihito then sides with Mami (lines 12, 14), reinforcing Mami's feelings. Following this, Mami explains that it was an all-girls school (line 15). It appears as if Akihito's assessment (line 12) does not get responded to (line 13) so that he reformulates it (line 14), i.e. there is a sense that Mami does not agree with Akihito because the silence is a sign of dispreferred turn, a disagreement. Mami thus provides an additional reason (line 15).

The following excerpt shows how the listener produces assessments in overlap with the teller's evaluative comments.

J8-12

1	Junko	>dakara< motto sunaoni: (0.3) kaitokeba yokatta na:.
2		(0.5)
3	Yuko	°u:::n.°
4	Junko	shiken mondai tte yuu no wa: (0.5) ne, [jibun no omou koto ja-nakute.
5 →	Yuko	[ne, hoshii mono ja-nakute ne.
6	Junko	un.
7 →	Yuko	aite shutsu[daisha no itta koto.
8	Junko	[aite no itta koto soo soo.
9	Junko	.hh to yuu koto na n (.) °desu° ne:.
10	Junko	u[n.
11	Yuko	[hoo::::: (.) de minna: (.) kekkyoku: (.) demo (.) sono: (.) saigoni- made ni wa (.) medetaku (.) sandan ni.
12		(0.8)
13	Junko	a soo: (.) u:::n maa gookakushimashite ne::.

```
★English translation
1       Junko           So I should have repeated the views of the textbook word for
                        word without entering into my opinion.
2                       (0.5)
3       Yuko            Uh huh.
4       Junko           You are not supposed to say what you think about the test
                        problems.
5       Yuko            It's not what they want to hear....
6       Junko           Yeah.
7       Yuko            (You should do) what was set by your examiner.
8       Junko           What the other person has said yeah yeah.
9       Junko           That's what tests are all about.
10      Junko           Yeah.
11      Yuko            Oh, and everyone... after all... but... that... finally- got
                        to the third degree.
12                      (0.8)
13      Junko           Right... yeah... well (we) passed (the test).
```

In lines 1 and 4, Junko analyses the examination which she failed, and in line 5, Yuko produces an assessment in overlap with Junko's utterance. Yuko is reinforcing Junko's view. In line 7, Yuko further provides an assessment. Then, in line 8, Junko paraphrases the words that were used by Yuko, supplies the agreement tokens *soo soo* and finishes the sentence. These evaluative statements are constructed by both participants over a series of turns. Such simultaneous talk is not necessarily an interruption (Strauss and Kawanishi, 1996: 155) but rather illustrates the participants' heightened awareness of the assessable ongoing talk and their way of co-aligning with each other.

Similarly, in J8-13, the listener gives a summary of the teller's story, and the teller elaborates on the topic prompted by the listener.

```
J8-13
1       Junko           moshi:: .hh sabottetari::,
2       Yuko            u::[:n.
2a      Junko              [tamani shika renshuushitenai↑to::, soko made wa ikanai
                        °to.°
3                       (1.8)
4 →     Yuko            sannenkan de kuroobi de sensee (.) n nacchau.
5                       (0.4)
6 →     Yuko            kanari majina kurabu ya ne::.
7                       (0.8)
8       Junko           soo desu ne::.
9                       (0.5)
10      Junko           >un dakara<  mochiron::: .h uchi no gakunen wa zeein totta
                        keredomo, .h sono mae no gakunen wa, suumee shika toottenai.

★English translation
1       Junko           If you goof around,
2       Yuko            Uh huh.
2a      Junko           or exercise only occasionally, you don't get that far.
```

3		(1.8)
4	Yuko	In just three years you end up getting a black belt and becoming an instructor.
5		(0.4)
6	Yuko	That sounds like quite a serious club.
7		(0.8)
8	Junko	Well, let me see....
9		(0.5)
10	Junko	Yeah so of course... everyone in our grade got (the degree) but only a few (students) passed in the previous year.

Junko explains that one needs discipline to pass Shorinji-kempo tests (lines 1-2a). A long silence (1.8-seconds) occurs (line 3). Following the silence, Yuko provides a summary (line 4) and an assessment (line 6) concerning Junko's Shorinji-kempo club. Junko responds to Yuko's evaluative comments and starts focusing on the nature of the club (line 10).

I have distinguished above several different kinds of assessments through which listeners give a signal that they understand what the other person went through. That's what makes it "empathy". Empathic comments are typical of Japanese listeners in which they put themselves in the other person's shoes (J7-8, J3-9). Similarly, the listener's display of agreement with the teller's stance can be seen in excerpt J2-10. Furthermore, the listener may take sides with the teller (J9-11), even though this is the example in which the teller does not seem to agree with the listener's assessment.

In J8-12, both the teller and the listener collaboratively pursue an evaluation of a topic, which brings out a sense of cooperative spirit. This kind of joint construction of assessments seems to be a sign of the participants' heightened awareness of the ongoing narrative. On a related note, the listener's supportive assessments may provide a resource for the teller to focus on additional aspects of his/her experiences, as in J8-13.

Thus, the analysis of the data has illustrated that the most fundamental pattern of assessments produced by recipients of stories is the display of empathy. A similar observation has been made by Strauss and Kawanishi (1996: 155) who state that Japanese interlocutors actively characterise the primary speaker's feelings and internal states. This display of empathy is also evident through the participants' use of assessments to co-align with each other, to thus show heightened awareness of the assessable ongoing narrative. This is indicative of collaborative storytelling for the participants.

4.5.4 Collaborative completions

In looking at examples on collaborative completions, the Japanese concept of *aun no kokyuu*, harmonising — mentally and physically — of two parties engaged in an activity (Kindaichi and Ikeda, 1997: 8), becomes important. The concept is used to describe well-coordinated interaction between people. It also suggests a harmonious flow of talk. This has implications for collaborative narration involving two participants working together to achieve storytelling. J1-14 provides evidence that such a process is observed in narrative discourse.

```
J1-14
1       Teruyo          de ya- a koko ka yatto tsuita yo toka omottara:, nanka (0.8)
                        "sanposhiyoo ze" mitaina, ["hamabe o sanposhiyoo ze" mitaina,
2       Yumi                                      [a ha.
2a      Teruyo          e he he.
3       Teruyo          .hh demo nanka tasuketemoratta kara:::, nanka (0.6) iya-
4 →     Yumi            tsuiteccha::::.
4a      Teruyo          iya: tomo ienai[shi:::.
5       Yumi                           [°u::n.°

★English translation
1       Teruyo          And when I thought I finally arrived (at my hotel) he said
                        "let's take a walk", like "let's take a walk on the beach",
2       Yumi            Ha ha.
2a      Teruyo          e he he.
3       Teruyo          But like he saved me so like oh-
4       Yumi            You follow him.
4a      Teruyo          I can't say no.
5       Yumi            Uh huh.
```

In this portion of the story, Teruyo is describing the events that happened in Phuket. In lines 1-2a and 3-4a, Teruyo attributes the evaluative remark to herself at the moment that the story happened. It is what she thought to herself at the time of the events. Yumi then comes in and provides an anticipation of Teruyo's next utterance (line 4). She is preempting the teller's talk.

The following two examples (J2-15 and J3-16) demonstrate how native speaker participants can rely on grammatical rules in jointly constructing utterances to make sense. These examples are a realisation of *aun no kokyuu* (mental and physical harmonisation) in that the listeners depend on grammatical knowledge as well as phonological cues in completing the teller's utterance. In excerpt J2-15, for example, the listener (Yumi) finishes the emerging utterance of the teller (Kazuyuki).

```
J2-15
1       Kazuyuki        dakara (.) sukii subetteitemo: (1.0) mawari no keshiki
                        mitenakatta n desu yo.
2       Kazuyuki        .hh moo (0.8) suben noni seeippai da-
3       Kazuyuki        .hh °de kigatsuitara::°
4 →     Yumi            °dare mo [inai.°
4a      Kazuyuki                 [zenzen (.) daremo inakunatta.
5       Kazuyuki        .hh nanka misuterii no sekai ni [natteshimaimashite ne.
6       Yumi                                            [a ha ha ha ha ha.

★English translation
1       Kazuyuki        So even though I was skiing I wasn't enjoying the view around
                        myself.
2       Kazuyuki        Sliding absorbed all my attention-
3       Kazuyuki        And when I realised
4       Yumi            No one is around.
4a      Kazuyuki        nobody could be seen.
5       Kazuyuki        Like it ended up becoming a world of mystery.
6       Yumi            A ha ha ha ha ha.
```

While the end of a sentence is generally marked by the conclusive form of a verb, the *-tara* form of a verb (line 3) does not mark the absolute end of a sentence but implies that it is going to be followed by another verb or predicate. In describing a past action, the *-tara* form expresses a notion of discovery, i.e. "when X-then Y" (Lerner

and Takagi, 1999). Here one can see how the teller elongates the end of the phrase in flat intonation (line 3). Yumi then produces a candidate utterance for Kazuyuki who appears to be searching for a word. That is, Yumi provides the predicate *°dare mo inai°* (line 4) to fill in Kazuyuki's utterance, thus participating in the conversation. Kazuyuki resumes his talk by repeating Yumi's contribution, although slightly differently (line 4a).

The following example also illustrates how interaction can be related to grammar. Japanese is a verb-final language, which enables the listener to express the verb of a sentence produced by the teller.

```
J3-16
1       Yoko        soo ja-nakute, soko o girigirini koo [koshite kocchi e kite::
2       Shun                                             [ee.
2a      Yoko        sono bakudan o ko- otoshi[teiku n desu ne¿
3       Shun                                 [ee.
4       Yoko        .hh de ichiban hidoi toki wa sono (.) hontooni migu no (.)
                    pairotto no kao ga::
5 →     Shun        mieru.
5a      Yoko        mieru [gurai ni hikui tokoro o °tonde-°
6       Shun              [°hoo hoo hoo.°

★English translation
1       Yoko        Not like that.  The planes pass (the border) at the lowest
                    possible and come here
2       Shun        Uh huh.
2a      Yoko        and drop bombs.
3       Shun        Uh huh.
4       Yoko        And at the worst moment the face of the pilot of the Soviet
                    plane
5       Shun        Can be seen.
5a      Yoko        can be seen... they fly at the low point.
6       Shun        Oh.
```

In J3-16, Yoko and Shun construct a sentence together. Yoko offers a description of the Soviet plane and elongates the vowel on the subject marker *ga* (lines 1, 4). With this subject marker, a speaker introduces a character as an agent for the first mention. That is, *ga* is used when a situation or happening is just noticed or newly introduced. Here Shun supplies a verb in line 5 that completes the emerging sentence initiated by

Yoko in line 4. Yoko continues by repeating Shun's contribution (i.e. *mieru*) and completes her utterance.

Excerpt J8-17 presents a case of collaborative completion in which the listener displays her understanding of the teller's inner feelings. Once again, the concept of *aun no kokyuu* is evident as the listener relies on the grammatical and phonological features of the teller's emerging utterance.

```
J8-17
1       Junko           .h shitara: (.) ochimashite ne:.
2                       (0.3)
3       Yuko            ara::.
4       Junko           sono ba:n (0.4) hazukashisa to:
5                       (1.0)
6 →     Yuko            kuyashi[sa.
6a      Junko                   [kuyashisa no amari hanseeshite::.
7       Yuko            u::n.
8                       (1.3)
9       Junko           kyookasho o isshookenmee yonde:.
10      Yuko            u:n.
11      Junko           jukenbenkyoo no yooni.
12      Yuko            °ha ha.°

★English translation
1       Junko           Then I failed.
2                       (0.3)
3       Yuko            Arrah.
4       Junko           That night embarrassment and...
5                       (1.0)
6       Yuko            Humiliation.
6a      Junko           I was so humiliated to the point I reflected on my past
                        conduct.
7       Yuko            Uh huh.
8                       (1.3)
9       Junko           I diligently read the textbook.
10      Yuko            Uh huh.
11      Junko           Like cramming.
12      Yuko            Ha ha.
```

Junko shares that she failed the test (line 1) and begins to provide an evaluative remark (line 4). Junko strings out the vowel *to:* (literally "and" in English) (line 4) and makes silence (line 5). In line 6, Yuko provides a candidate word to complete Junko's emerging utterance (line 4). Junko's utterance in line 4 indicates her inner feelings, i.e. "embarrassment". Similarly, Yuko's collaborative completion in line 6, i.e. "humiliation", is a personal feeling. Junko confirms Yuko's contribution by repeating the humiliation concept when she resumes her talk (line 6a).

In excerpt J5-18, the male participants, who are both familiar with the entertainment and amusement trades, collaboratively recall their shared knowledge. The interaction of the participants indicates a harmonious flow of narration, in relation to *aun no kokyuu*.

```
J5-18
1       Hiroki          .h ichinen no koro wa ne:::, mada tookyoo tomodachi inaishi
                        sa:[:::.
2       Hoshoku            [hai ha [hai.
3       Hiroki                     [moo ne:: (0.7) nani, dengon,
4       Hoshoku         °h[a.°
4a      Hiroki            [terekura,
5 →     Hoshoku         tsuushotto daiaru.
5a      Hiroki          soo soo soo [(.) sooyuu no hitotoori yatte sa:::.
6       Hoshoku                     [°a ha.°
7       Hoshoku         °ha:n.°
8       Hiroki          .hh (.) moo ne:::: nani ichiban omoshirokatta no wa:[: ano
9       Hoshoku                                                             [°hon.°
9a      Hiroki          zasshi ni:: jibu:::::n [no kookoku o nosete:,
10      Hoshoku                                [°hun.°
11      Hoshoku         hoo:.
11a     Hiroki          ano: "himana hito wa isshoni:: (.) asondekuremasen ka" tte
                        yuu: no o noshita toki ga: chotto ne:::.
12      Hoshoku         noshita.
13      Hiroki          >soo soo soo soo.<

★English translation
1       Hiroki          When I was a first-year student I didn't have friends in
                        Tokyo.
2       Hoshoku         Yes yes yes.
3       Hiroki          Well... message lines,
4       Hoshoku         Hmm.
4a      Hiroki          telephone dating services,
5       Hoshoku         Two shot dials.
5a      Hiroki          yeah yeah yeah I did all of that.
6       Hoshoku         A ha.
7       Hoshoku         Hmm.
8       Hiroki          Well what was most interesting was uhm... I placed my ad in a
                        magazine,
9       Hoshoku         Hmm.
10      Hoshoku         Hmm.
11      Hoshoku         Oh.
11a     Hiroki          uhm... I said "if you are not doing anything won't you play
                        with me?" in my ad.
12      Hoshoku         You did?
13      Hiroki          Yeah yeah yeah yeah.
```

As Hiroki lists all the telephone dating services he has tried (line 3), Hoshoku supplies a noun phrase that completes the list initiated by Hiroki (line 5). Hiroki then continues with the agreement tokens *soo soo soo* and constructs the main clause. Hiroki then moves on to the next matter (line 8). The interaction shows that the participants co-construct the narrative through the collaborative completion, which indicates establishment of mutual understanding.

As seen above, there is consistent evidence (J1-14, J2-15, J3-16, J8-17, J5-18) that collaborative completions occur relative to the rhythm of *aun no kokyuu*. For example, the participants create an environment for a collaborative completion to occur through grammatical (e.g. *-tara* form of a verb) as well as phonological cues (e.g. vowel elongation and flat intonation) as can be seen in J2-15. In J8-17, the listener (Yuko) even provides a collaborative completion which expresses the narrator's (Junko) inner feelings. Thus, contrary to the findings of Ono and Yoshida (1996: 120), it is not necessarily impolite to finish each other's sentences or to provide additional information unexpressed by the first speaker, mainly because these speakers in these examples do not see it as such. In other words, my data have no evidence that the speakers treat collaborative completion as impolite.

4.5.5 Repetitions

Repetition seems to be a device for displaying understanding of the teller's story. Excerpt J5-19 illustrates a case of partial repetition by the listener.

J5-19		
1	Hiroki	de: moo sono ikkai no kookoku de yonin gurai ni atta n dakedo:::.
2	Hoshoku	ho:n.
3		(0.9)
4	Hiroki	dakedo saisho no- saisho no hitorime de ne: moo ne:, .h aa takanozomishitara ikan na tte yappa kooyuu no wa kooyuu deai kana (.) tte.
5 →	Hoshoku	kooyuu [n ya chuu te.
6	Hiroki	[i- itaimeniatta wake ne.
★English translation		
1	Hiroki	And... I met four girls through that one ad.
2	Hoshoku	Hmm.
3		(0.9)
4	Hiroki	But the first one... with the first one I thought I shouldn't expect much. After all, this kind of magazine leads to this kind of encounter.
5	Hoshoku	This kind.
6	Hiroki	I had a bitter experience.

At this point of the narrative, Hiroki recounts what happened (line 1) and attributes the evaluative remark to himself at the moment that the event took place (line 4). Hoshoku produces a partial repetition (line 5). This has a reinforcing effect. In line 6, Hiroki continues with his story about meeting women through personal ads. This example suggests that the listener shows understanding of the story content through repetition.

Excerpt J8-20 shows how the listener accomplishes a display of understanding through partial repetition.

```
J8-20
1       Junko       >kantoku-san ga< "inoue-san omae nan- .hh nande ochita n
                    [da:".
2       Yuko        [°ha ha.°
3       Junko       .hhh iya:, shisoo ni mondai ga [atte: towa iezuni:.
4  →    Yuko                                       [a ha ha ha .hh shisoo ni ne:.
5       Junko       °u::n.°
6       Yuko        na::ni, ja ano, "kono yo no aku to tatakau tame" toka kaita a
                    ha.
7       Junko       °chiga-° ↑nani o kaita n daka watashi wa kioku ni nai n
                    dakeredomo:[:.
8       Yuko                   [°u::::n.°

★English translation
1       Junko       (The coach said) "why did you fail (the test)?"
2       Yuko        Ha ha.
3       Junko       Well, I couldn't tell him that there were problems with my
                    thinking.
4       Yuko        A ha ha ha with your thinking....
5       Junko       Yeah.
6       Yuko        What... did you write something like "to fight the evil of
                    this world?"
7       Junko       No, I don't remember what I wrote.
8       Yuko        Uh huh.
```

Junko provides highly evaluative comments (lines 1, 3), revealing the awkward feeling of not being able to be honest with her coach. In laughing and saying *shisoo ni ne:* (line 4), a partial repetition of Junko's contribution, Yuko demonstrates that she understands the situation being described.

As these examples show, repetition seems to project a type of reflective listening in which the listener repeats an element of what the teller has just said. On hearing a new piece of information, the listener produces a reinforcing effect through

repetition. This is realised by repeating or paraphrasing the utterance of the narrator (J5-19, J8-20). It seems that the Japanese participants listen closely and observe cues in order to display understanding towards the narrators. Through repetition, the listeners can acknowledge the opinions or feelings of the narrators.

4.5.6 Questions

The listeners may ask questions to complete the information the teller is giving. In the following segment, the listener asks a confirmation question.

```
J7-21
1       Miki            tsugi (.) hune wa sono mikka go toka na no::.
2       Taeko           u:[n.
3       Miki              [dakara (.) "sore made irarenai hito wa:, kono hune de sugu
                        kaettekudasai" toka iwarete.
4 →     Taeko           a .h honto wa soko de kankoo[suru yotee datta ↓no:.
5       Miki                                        [soo soo soo soo, huta- ni-
                        hutsuka ka mikka gurai tomatte tsugi no hune de
                        kae[ru yotee datta n dakedo::, tsugi no hune ISSHUUKAN go
6       Taeko              [SUGEE KANASHII:::.
6a      Miki            toka iwarete [mikka go ja-nakute tashika.
7       Taeko                        [a:n.

★English translation
1       Miki            The next ship would leave three days after that.
2       Taeko           Uh huh.
3       Miki            So they said "those who cannot stay till then please return
                        by this ship".
4       Taeko           Were you originally planning to go sightseeing there?
5       Miki            Yeah yeah yeah yeah, we were planning to stay two or three
                        days and return by the next ship but the next ship was one
                        week ahead,          .
6       Taeko           Very sad.
6a      Miki            not three days, if I remember rightly.
7       Taeko           Uh huh.
```

In lines 1 and 3, Miki describes a conflict situation. In line 3, Miki clearly indicates that she was not happy at the moment that the event took place. The verb *iwarete<iwareru* is the passive form of the verb *iu* (to say). This "suffering passive" is associated with an adversarial or unfortunate quality of a situation (Shibatani, 1990: 317). Taeko asks a question, requesting more information to understand the problem (line 4). Taeko's question enables her to gain a greater familiarity with the story. Miki quickly and in overlap responds in the affirmative with *soo soo soo soo* (line 5)

and continues with the talk. The answer (line 5) thus provides a clearer picture of Miki's experience.

In excerpt J9-22, the listener asks clarification questions.

```
J9-22
1       Mami            de, atashira wa::, chookyori yake::, chookyori dake¿
2 →     Akihito         .h nnara maneejaa mo sore betsubetsu de on no.
3       Mami            soo.
4                       (1.0)
5 →     Akihito         nn tankyori to chookyori?
6       Mami            soo.
7       Akihito         u:::n.
8       Mami            honde:¿, atashira mo¿, sensee ga (.) hitori oru wake yo.
9       Akihito         a:n.
10                      (0.4)

★English translation
1       Mami            And because we are in the long-distance group we just do
                        long-distance.
2       Akihito         Are there separate managers then?
3       Mami            Right.
4                       (1.0)
5       Akihito         Short-distance group and long-distance group?
6       Mami            Right.
7       Akihito         Uh huh.
8       Mami            And then... we also have one teacher for ourselves.
9       Akihito         Uh huh.
10                      (0.4)
```

In line 1, Mami provides Akihito with background information to the story. Akihito asks questions in lines 2 and 5. It's the asking that is evidence of the interest. Akihito is soliciting reasonably simple, straightforward answers based on the facts presented by Mami. Mami provides brief responses to Akihito's questions (lines 3, 6) and continues with her story (line 8). The listener's questions do not disrupt the flow of the narrative but rather encourage the narrator to keep talking. That is the outcome.

The following example illustrates how the listener focuses on a particular aspect of the story, i.e. information introduced early on in the story.

```
J8-23
1       Junko           de doko ni itta ka tte yuu to, .hhh n- kagawa-ken ni aru:
2       Yuko            °u:n.°
2a      Junko           shoorinji-kempoo no honbu (0.6) honzan na n desu ke[do:.
3       Yuko                                                               [°hoo:::.°
((102 lines of transcription omitted))
4       Junko           hazukashikatta °desu ne::.°
5                       (0.5)
6       Yuko            °u::[::::n.°
```

```
7       Junko              [°un.°
8 →     Yuko               kagawa ni aru ↓no.
9       Junko              soo.

★English translation
1       Junko              And we went to this place in Kagawa...
2       Yuko               Uh huh.
2a      Junko              it's the main temple of Shorinji-kempo.
3       Yuko               Oh.
((102 lines of transcription omitted))
4       Junko              It was embarrassing.
5                          (0.5)
6       Yuko               Uh huh.
7       Junko              Yeah.
8       Yuko               It's in Kagawa?
9       Junko              Yeah.
```

Junko describes the story's setting (line 1) to which Yuko expresses her surprise with *°hoo:::°* (line 3). Junko shares that the annual training camp is held at the main temple of Shorinji-kempo in Kagawa. Yuko's feedback (line 3) suggests that the notion of having a camp in a remote place such as Kagawa seems unexpected and full-scale (line 1). This is because Kagawa is about 750km from the capital Tokyo. *Hoo* is an exclamatory remark in Japanese (Horiguchi, 1988, 1997). Junko takes Yuko through the episode itself and completes the first half of the narrative with an evaluative comment (line 4). Yuko, then, formulates a question concentrating her attention on the locative information (line 8). Yuko is expressing her understanding of Junko's experience in terms of the location of the story. One could also argue that Yuko is indicating her interest in Junko's story by referring back to information introduced at the beginning of the story.

In summary, a common Japanese method of displaying interest in or understanding of the ongoing narrative is to ask questions (J7-21, J9-22, J8-23). In these examples, the focus seems to be on the teller; by asking questions, the listener goes inside the story and puts himself/herself in the teller's position. In this way, the listener facilitates the teller's story. In particular, J7-21 shows that the listener accurately identifies with the teller's point of view and acknowledges her feelings.

That is, the listener asks a confirmation question, reinforcing the teller's difficult experience. Furthermore, it seems that in J8-23, the listener demonstrates an ability to maintain long attention spans as can be seen in her display of global listening which focuses on some aspect of the story introduced earlier in the talk.

4.5.7 Laughter

There are different functions associated with laughter. The first type of laughter is one which promotes fun interaction. The following three examples (J2-24, J7- 25, J4-26) show that laughter is an appropriate response to a story characterised as "funny". It is the laughter that characterises it as such.

```
J2-24
1       Kazuyuki        ji- soko ni tsuitara, minna nani shiteta to omoimasu?
2                       (0.3)
3       Kazuyuki        biiru no- .hh "O, kaettekita".
4  →    Yumi            >a ha ha ha ha.<
5  →    Kazuyuki        .hh "ikiteta naa", tte [a ha ha.
6  →    Yumi                                   [a ha ha.
7       Kazuyuki        .hh °yatto tsukimashite ne.°
8       Yumi            [hee:::::::.
9       Kazuyuki        [ho::::n- dakara sono toki wa moo .hh omoshiroi shunkan de
                        ↓ne:.
10      Kazuyuki        ASHIMOTO shika mitenai desho?
11                      (0.7)
12      Yumi            °u:::n.°

★English translation
1       Kazuyuki        When I got there, what do you think everyone was doing?
2                       (0.3)
3       Kazuyuki        They were drinking beer and said "oh, you are back".
4       Yumi            A ha ha ha ha.
5       Kazuyuki        They said "you are alive" a ha ha.
6       Yumi            A ha ha.
7       Kazuyuki        I finally arrived.
8       Yumi            Hmm.
9       Kazuyuki        So that was an interesting moment.
10      Kazuyuki        I only see my feet, right?
11                      (0.7)
12      Yumi            Uh huh.
```

Prior to this segment, Kazuyuki provides an account of his scary experience in the ski field. In lines 1 and 3, Kazuyuki explains what happened in the end. In lines 4, 5 and 6, Yumi and Kazuyuki invite each other to laugh. That is, Yumi laughs (line 4) and Kazuyuki responds with laughter (line 5), which is followed by Yumi's laughter. The

environment in which laughter is produced suggests in part that the narrative is proceeding smoothly. The shared laughter in this context is indicative of interpersonal bonds (Hopper, 1992: 180). In the subsequent turn, Kazuyuki evaluates the event in a way that reinforces Yumi's laughter, that is, he adds humour to his story by reconstructing the remark made by his ski mates (line 5).

What would otherwise seem inappropriate is accepted in the talk between close friends. Excerpt J7-25 is taken from a story in which Miki shares with Taeko her experience in Okinawa.

```
J7-25
1       Miki            e sorede::, [yotee ga kurucchatta kara::,
2       Taeko                       [mo- moo hoteru toka modo-
3       Taeko           un [un.
3a      Miki               [ano:: (.) ishigakijima ni modotta n dake[do::,
4       Taeko                                                       [u:::n.
4a      Miki            soko de nanka (0.5) moo yadodai ga nakute::.
5 →     Taeko           a ha ha ha ha.
6       Miki            "*aa*" toka omotte.
7       Miki            otokonoko wa okane motteta kedo onnanoko wa mottenakatta
                        [kara:.
8       Taeko           [.h nande onnanoko no [hoo ga nai no::.
9       Miki                                  [soo, nakatta no.

★English translation
1       Miki            And then... because our plan was messed up,
2       Taeko           You returned to the hotel-
3       Taeko           Uh huh.
3a      Miki            uhm... we returned to Ishigaki Island but
4       Taeko           Uh huh.
4a      Miki            then we found we had no money for accommodation.
5       Taeko           A ha ha ha ha.
6       Miki            We thought "ah".
7       Miki            Because the boys had money but the girls didn't.
8       Taeko           How come it was the girls who didn't have money?
9       Miki            Yeah, we didn't.
```

In this portion of the narrative, Miki explains that she realised on the island that she did not have money for accommodation on the island (line 1). On hearing it, Taeko laughs (line 5). Here, Miki's hard times are treated humorously. Miki acknowledges Taeko's laughter and continues with her story (line 6). It is the teller's talk that prompts the laughter with which the listener takes up a stance towards the events, i.e. not having enough money for accommodation.

Laughter may result from a sense of shared experience. In excerpt J4-26, Masae is sharing a somewhat embarrassing story with Eriko.

```
J4-26
1 →     Masae           HATTO omotte::, moshikashite ochiten no wa aitsu ja-nai
                        [ka to omotte a ha ha yattekite::, .hh (.) "NANI yatten no
2 →     Eriko           [a ha ha ha ha ha .hh.
2a →    Masae           an-" a ha ha suggoi okorarete: e he he.
3 →     Eriko           a ha ha .hh a ha ha.
4 →     Masae           de:: (.) atashi "itai itai" tte sugge[e naitete: a ha ha.
5 →     Eriko                                              [u:::n a ha ha .hh.
6       Masae           hazukashiishi::.
7 →     Eriko           a ha ha.

★English translation
1       Masae           He thought... could it be her who got caught a ha ha, he came
                        and said "what are you doing?"
2       Eriko           A ha ha ha ha ha.
2a      Masae           a ha ha he really roused at me e he he.
3       Eriko           A ha ha a ha ha.
4       Masae           And... I was crying terribly "it hurts it hurts" a ha ha.
5       Eriko           Uh huh a ha ha.
6       Masae           It was also embarrassing.
7       Eriko           A ha ha.
```

This segment is full of laughter. It seems natural for a funny story to evoke a series of laughter. In other words, a minimal response such as *un* would indicate that the listener is not appreciating the teller's funny story, or not as much as laughter or not as laughter does. In this example, both participants are responding to laughter with laughter (lines 1, 2, 2a, 3, 4, 5, 7), reinforcing interpersonal bonds.

The second type of laughter involves concealment of negative emotions (Nakamura, 1994: 37). In J1-27, for example, the teller seems to be disguising her embarrassment through laughter.

```
J1-27
1       Teruyo          .hh de atashi wa atashi de sooyuu hitoride wake wakannai koto
                        yattete::.
2                       (1.2)
3       Teruyo          .hh "omae yoku kaettekoreta naa" toka itte.
4                       (0.4)
5       Teruyo          sore wa waraibanashi de owatta n dakedo.
6                       (0.5)
7       Yumi            kawaisoo kare.
8 →     Teruyo          a ha ha.
9       Teruyo          .hhh nanka (0.4) amarinimo onaka ga suite ruumusaabisu o
                        totta rashii n dakedo::, .h mottekita hito mo bikkurishite::,
                        >makkura no naka kara hito ga detekita kara:< °ha ha ha ha ha
                        ha ha ha ha.°
```

```
★English translation
1       Teruyo          And I was doing all those crazy things the whole time.
2                       (1.2)
3       Teruyo          He said "I'm amazed that you returned safely".
4                       (0.4)
5       Teruyo          It ended as a funny story but.
6                       (0.5)
7       Yumi            Poor guy.
8       Teruyo          A ha ha.
9       Teruyo          Like... he got so hungry that he had room service but the
                        person who brought (the food) over got frightened because
                        someone appeared from darkness ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.
```

To remind the reader of the gist of the story, Teruyo leaves her male friend behind without the keys to the room, forcing him to stay in the room for many hours. In this segment, Teruyo signals that the narrative is finished with the resolution (lines 1, 3) and a coda (line 5). When a 0.5-second silence (line 6) elapses after Teruyo's utterance, Yumi comes in and provides an assessment (line 7). What emerges from this utterance is that Yumi shows sympathy towards Teruyo's friend who had to wait for her in darkness. Teruyo laughs (line 8), but this laughter is not shared by Yumi. The implication is that the topic-in-progress is treated differently by the participants. Given that Yumi does not think the event being described is funny, as can be seen from her utterance in line 7, she does not show affiliation through laughter.

Excerpt J9-28 illustrates how the teller, through laughter, reacts to the listener who claims the floor at a point where the story has not reached an end.

```
J9-28
1       Mami            honde sa:, nomootoshitara sa::, "anmari takusan nomanaide
                        ne::" (1.1) yuu no::.
2       Akihito         un.
3                       (1.0)
4       Mami            "E:?" tte omou desho::?
5       Akihito         un.
6       Mami            a ha ha.
7       Akihito         nanka pokari tte dokodemo aru ne:.
8  →    Mami            a ha ha ha ha ha.
9       Akihito         ore mo renshuu::::: no tochuu de yappa pokari yatta ne.
10      Mami            ha.
11      Akihito         nanka shiran kedo DEKKAI baketsu ni sa, koo mizu (0.5)
                        honmani (0.3) PORIBAKETSU ya de:, [gomibako no:.
12      Mami                                              [a ha ha ha.
13                      (0.4)
((23 lines of transcription omitted))
14      Akihito         dakara ichinen::::: no toki wa (0.3) kanari shindoi na.
15      Mami            °a::::n.°
16      Mami            demo ne, kekkyoku ↑ne:, atashi ↑ne:, nanka (0.3) yameru tte
```

		yutta no::,
17	Akihito	un.
18		(0.4)
18a	Mami	bukatsu o:.
19	Akihito	un.

★English translation

1	Mami	And then... when we were about to drink Pocari Sweat, she said "don't drink too much".
2	Akihito	Uh huh.
3		(1.0)
4	Mami	Wouldn't you think, "what?"
5	Akihito	Uh huh.
6	Mami	A ha ha.
7	Akihito	Like you find Pocari Sweat everywhere.
8	Mami	A ha ha ha ha ha.
9	Akihito	I also had Pocari Sweat during practice.
10	Mami	Ha.
11	Akihito	Like in this big bucket, really, it's a plastic bucket for garbage.
12	Mami	A ha ha ha.
13		(0.4)
((23 lines of transcription omitted))		
14	Akihito	So I reckon the first-year students have a tough time.
15	Mami	Uh huh.
16	Mami	But... in the end... I said "I quit",
17	Akihito	Uh huh.
18		(0.4)
18a	Mami	I mean the club.
19	Akihito	Uh huh.

Prior to this segment, Mami introduces a new prop into the story, i.e. *pokarisuetto* (Pocari Sweat), a popular soft drink in Japan. In line 7, Akihito foreshadows a story from his own repertoire. This utterance suggests that he has a substantial contribution to make. Following this, in line 8, Mami laughs and lets Akihito talk. That is, when Akihito continues with his talk in line 9, Mami laughs *ha* in line 10 and hands the floor back to Akihito (line 11). She laughs again in line 12 and facilitates Akihito's talk. When Akihito provides a summary of his story in line 14, Mami utters *°a::::n°* (line 15) and resumes her story by using a turn-transfer signal *demo* (but) plus an adverb *kekkyoku* (in the end) in line 16 , suggesting that there is more to come.

The analysis of the data has shown the contrast between two kinds of laughter. On the one hand, laughter signals that the topic is going to be treated as an opportunity to have fun (J2-24, J7-25, J4-26). The positive nature of the story, coupled with noticeable intimacy between the teller and listener, invites such non-threatening laughter. Laughter also reinforces interpersonal bonds between the

participants (J4-26). On the other hand, laughter accounts for the concealment of complex emotions. For example, in J9-28, laughter seems to be used by the teller to mask her feelings. Thus, laughter can be seen to accompany a wide range of emotional reactions: humour, awkwardness and disapproval.

4.5.8 Concluding remarks

The above analyses have shown how listeners respond to narratives. The notion of co-construction of stories in Japanese involves active verbal contributions from the recipient. Most generally, these contributions take the form of minimal responses (e.g. J6-1, J3-2, J9-3), although other types of response tokens such as assessments (e.g. J7-8, J3-9) and questions (e.g. J7-21, J9-22) also play an essential role in maintaining the narration. As Mizutani (1998: 10) notes, the listener's steady involvement in conversation is welcomed as a sign of positive listening in Japanese. T. Hayashi and R. Hayashi (1991) explain the weight given to the recipient in light of the concept of interdependence. I wish to posit that a sense of interdependence is much like an unwritten social obligation that binds the teller and listener on the basis of mutual benefit. The teller can therefore expect to get minimal responses when he/she is talking, while the recipient keeps producing an optimum amount of verbal feedback. One example of this listening style can be seen in example J9-4 where minimal responses occur regularly within the teller's speech marked by phrasal boundaries.

Lebra and Lebra (1986) note that identifying oneself with another or being sensitive to what others think is highly valued in Japanese culture. This concern for harmony is then combined with great effort to be kind, recognising the importance of understanding the other person's experience or emotion through assessments or

questions that are thoughtful and not hurtful. Therefore, one could assume that a recipient would not openly "tease" the narrator when he/she is speaking. Listening with an understanding, empathetic ear is what would be expected as is shown in the data (e.g. J3-9, J7-21). This kind of listening style provides evidence that co-construction of stories in Japanese is achieved through the participants who make a valiant effort to fulfil the workings of Japanese cultural emphasis on feelings-oriented relationships.

4.6 Qualitative analysis of the Australian data

4.6.1 Introduction

This section explores various aspects of interaction in Australian narration to show some of the key features of Australian audience. The analysis of the data will show that recipients (i) use minimal responses during narration, although silence also plays an important role in listening, (ii) challenge the view of the narrator by inserting assessments characterised by humour, (iii) facilitate the teller's talk through collaborative completions, (iv) push the story further or repair a problem through question asking and (v) laugh at funny moments in the story.

4.6.2 Minimal responses

Minimal responses signal that listeners are paying attention to the teller. Most generally, minimal responses such as *mm hm* and *yeah* are an affirmation of what the teller is saying, "I am listening, tell me more", at least a claim to be doing so. Excerpts A5-1 and A2-2 illustrate this feature.

A5-1

1	Karina	.hh did i tell you about (.) when i first got ↑flopsy::.
2		(0.6)
3	Fiona	°no:: you didn't.°
4	Karina	yeah:::::.
5	Karina	well when i first bought flopsy i uhm (0.9) i went down to the:: (0.5) fyshwick (1.2) markets¿
6 →	Fiona	mm [hm::.
7	Karina	[an' they got a pet (0.5) pet shop there¿
8 →	Fiona	yeah:.
9	Karina	an' i went into the pet shop.
10		(1.0)
11	Karina	.h a:::::n' i saw these rabbits.

At line 1, Karina indicates that she has a story in mind. This preface sequence is followed by Fiona's request to hear the story (line 3). Then, Karina begins the story by providing orientative information (line 5) while Fiona utters *mm hm::* at the first possibly complete unit of the story (line 6). Making use of a minimal response signal *mm hm::*, Fiona is encouraging Karina to continue with her talk. Karina is encouraged because she does keep talking. Fiona utters *yeah:* at the second possibly complete unit of the story (line 8) and then keeps silent and pays attention to the story. Thus, Fiona lets Karina know that she is listening with minimal responses (lines 6, 8) as well as silence, as Fiona does not insert a verbal response at the end of TCU in lines 9 and 11. Silent listening may involve giving one's full attention to what the other person is saying (Tomalin and Stempleski, 1993: 117-119).

By uttering a minimal response, the listener indicates that he is listening to the teller.

A2-2

1	Stephen	but uh::m (.) what i enjoyed i: (.) arri::ved (0.3) spent half an hour (.) drinking lots of water.
2		(1.2)
3	Stephen	then i go in (0.3) an' just (.) sit there an' start perspiring.
4 →	Matthew	mm:: hm.
5	Stephen	a:n' one of the problems is (.) the sauna has (1.2) hot an' cold spots.

In A2-2, Stephen tells Matthew about what happened in the sauna (lines 1, 3, 5). Matthew provides a brief utterance *mm:: hm* (line 4), signalling to Stephen continued interest and attention. The interaction illustrates that Stephen is still holding primary speakership (line 5) after the minimal response *mm:: hm* (line 4) inserted by Matthew. It is noteworthy that these brief utterances signal the listeners' continued presence in the conversational floor. In other words, listeners use minimal responses to signal continued attention and to display their understanding that the teller is in an extended turn that is not yet complete.

Gardner (1994, 2001) maintains that *mm* has slightly different usages from other listener response signals such as *mm hm* and *yeah*. Although the minimal response token *mm* in conversation is seen as encouraging the current speaker to continue with his/her turn, Gardner, in the corpus of Australian data, points out that *mm* is frequently followed by the same speaker talk — that is, the speaker who utters the *mm* goes on to say something else, and a speaker who utters an *mm* and then continues speaking does not go back to the topic of the turn to which it is addressed. With this in mind, I shall consider excerpt A3-3.

```
A3-3
1        Damien     uhm (2.2) but (1.0) YEAH so they lasted about two weeks¿
                    an'::::: they were dead.
2        Damien     I THINK ONE DIED (0.3) i think about (.) nn (0.5) THE
                    GOLDFISH DIED FIRST,
3 →      Emma       m[m:.
3a       Damien      [ernie.
4        Emma       so those black ones tend to be really resilient¿
5                   (0.3)
6        Damien     yeah.
7        Emma       like (.) i had a friend who owned one of them (.) an' (.)
                    like (.) it lived for about (.) ten years or so.
8        Damien     yeah.
9        Emma       like (.) an' she was (.) [DEVASTATED when it died (.)
10       Damien                               [wow.
10a      Emma       because she- it had been her pet for such a long time.
11       Damien     did her parents do the old just (.) replace it though¿
                    may[be they did- a ha ha.
12       Emma          [NO no.
13       Emma       no they didn't.
14       Emma       well, you see- (.) the fish tank was in her bedroom
                    [so she woke up in the morning an' it was dead.
15       Damien     [°ah::, yeah.°
16       Damien     yeah, [a ha ha ha.
17       Emma           [a ha .hh there was (.) no chance for
```

18		Damien	yeah:.
18a		Emma	for her parents to intervene [(.) in that one.
19		Damien	[a ha ha ha.
20		Damien	yeah:.
21		Damien	uh:: (0.6) no the goldfish died first but the (0.6) the black one die::d (2.2) within (0.3) three or four days (0.5) after that.
22	→	Emma	mm::::.
23		Damien	so-
24		Emma	you weren't using a lot of fly spra[ys or anything to get rid of- a ha.
25		Damien	[a ha (0.4) that's what i've thought about (.) since i've learned more about (0.8) what kills them.
26			(1.2)
27		Damien	you know (.) >i was like< (.) we- we liked them for the first week but then we just lost interest anyway, so >it was like oh well they are dead< (0.5) we felt kind of bad about it but (2.1) <that's it.>
28		Damien	°no more fishies.°
29			(0.5)

In lines 1 and 2, Damien discloses the fact that the goldfish died in two weeks. Emma's *mm:* in line 3 responds to, and closes off, Damien's talk. She then asks a clarification question at line 4, and Damien provides an answer at line 6. It seems that Emma's question at line 4 is functioning as a preliminary to commencing a story at line 7. In this sequence, Emma explains what happened to her friend's fish. Damien resumes his story (line 21) at the conclusion of Emma's story at line 18a. At this point the teller-listener role appears to get reinstated, as can be seen from Emma's minimal response *mm:::* in line 22. However, Emma does not hand the floor back to Damien. She produces a rhetorical question at line 24. This utterance seems more like a statement regarding Emma's opinion of the situation being described. It looks as if Damien agrees with Emma. That is, he acknowledges Emma's remark and resumes his story at line 25.

This example confirms Gardner's findings in that *mm* is being used by Emma who takes up the opportunity to say something about the topic of the previous turn and takes the chance to take the turn. Although it is difficult to illustrate on the transcript the precise prosodic features of *mm* in lines 3 and 22, it has a rise-falling contour, which, according to Gardner, demonstrates a heightened sense of

involvement in the talk, and has more features in common with an assessment. In this sense, *mm* is complex in that it does not seem to be a typical continuer such as *mm hm* (A5-1, A2-2) which offers the floor back to the teller to whom the token is oriented.

Excerpt A9-4 shows how the teller checks the listener's comprehension through the HRT (high rising terminal). In other words, the listener produces minimal responses in response to the teller's HRT. Here the teller (Rhani) is talking about a scary experience her cousin had in Italy.

```
A9-4
1        Rhani          but uh:m (0.4) yeah this (1.0) uh::: (.) ↑guy came up to him
                        an' said "oh are you by your↑self, do you wanna:: (.) go for
                        a drink".
2                       (0.8)
3        Rhani          you know, "oh hi my name's blah blah blah" >whatever (.) he
                        introduced himself.<
4        Rhani          so they went for a drink.
5                       (1.1)
6        Rhani          an' then these two LADIES ended up joining in the:: (0.5) bar
                        where they were sitting¿
7 →      Michaela       yep.
8        Rhani          an' oh: yeah: okay (.) sat down an' so the other guy ordered
                        (1.3) champagne i think for the girls or whatever¿
9 →      Michaela       yep.
10       Rhani          an' he disappeared with one of the ladies.
11                      (1.2)
```

The segment consists of complicating actions (lines 1, 3, 4, 6, 8). Lines 1 and 4 are followed by extended silence (lines 2, 5) while lines 6 and 8 are followed by the minimal response *yep* (lines 7, 9). As it happens, both instances of the minimal responses occur after Rhani's utterances characterised by rising pitch (¿ in the transcript in lines 6 and 8). Research has shown that the high rising terminal (HRT) seeks verification of the listener's understanding of what has been said (Guy and Vonwiller, 1984; Steele, 1996). In this sense, Michaela's feedback meets the expectations of Rhani, with the teller appearing to seek verification of the listener's understanding.

In the present data, the Australian participants (listeners) say *mm hm* or *yeah* while listening, which generally appears to demonstrate interest and encouragement (A5-1, A2-2). Minimal responses in these examples seem to be used to encourage the narrator to proceed to his/her next utterance. That is, listeners produce these short utterances within the teller's turn and immediately return the floor back to the teller. Therefore, minimal responses signal that listeners are present and involved in the story. However, the listener does not produce a minimal response at the end of every single TCU (A5-1, A9-4). In these instances, silence comes into play, which is just another way of showing attentiveness to the teller, at least that no interest in taking on the role of the teller.

The present study also confirms previous research (Gardner, 1994, 2001) which has shown that *mm* serves as a completer of the immediately prior talk (A3-3). There is evidence that the listener produces *mm* and goes on to say something else. It appears that *mm* is being used by the listener who takes up the opportunity to say something about the topic of the previous turn. The listener takes the chance to take the turn and starts telling a story, with the result that the teller's story gets temporarily cut off. The participants are still co-constructing the story.

With regard to pitch, characteristically Australian high rising terminal (HRT) on the part of the teller in the middle of a narrative works as a comprehension check. In A9-4, for example, it was found that the narrator uses the HRT and seeks understanding from the listener who utters *yep* to show she is listening. What is important here is that the teller may do something to involve the recipient in the narration through phonological cues such as HRT.

4.6.3 Assessments

While minimal responses are generally found to be encouraging the teller to keep talking, listeners may also produce assessments to show some kind of reaction to what the storyteller is saying. Excerpt A1-5 is an example in which the listener receives new information with *wow*.

```
A1-5
1        Jo          an' i had a- uhm a few experiences like that.
2        Jo          another time i was (.) uhm (0.3) hitchhiking once an' the-
                     because i'd just been (.) try- gone (.) <i wanted to get
                     vegemite>.
3        Jo          an' you couldn't buy that in the states.
4        Jo          an' some teammates of mine had brought (.) some over.
5        Jo          .hh an' for them to give me a jar of (.) vegemite i had to
                     give them a six pack of beer.
6                    (0.6)
7        Jo          an' i was only twenty an' it- an' (.) you had to be twenty-
                     one to drink in the states.
8        Jo          so i had my false id.
9   →    Deborah     wo[::w.
10       Jo            [an' so i went into the seven eleven store an' they said
                     "a: ha: ha:" .hh very funny though (.) it's worked for me all
                     season but it- (.) that- they- they thought that it looked
                     (.) didn't look (0.8) real enough.
11       Jo          an' so .hh they said "oh just hold on we'll call the police".
```

In this excerpt, Jo is taking Deborah through the story by the chronological order of events (lines 1 through 8). In reflecting on Australian listening behaviour, it would be inappropriate to overlook the importance of silence. Silence appears to be essential to the proper management of narrative discourse because storytelling requires maintenance of more or less extended turns. While Deborah listens to Jo's story silently, Jo is able to produce several basic contributions within a span of a single turn. When Jo discloses that she had her false id (line 8), Deborah verbally acknowledges this information with *wow* (line 9). This *wow* indicates that Deborah is impressed, shocked or surprised (Schegloff, 1982).

Although silence seems to be an important part of the communication process to the Australian participants, if a listener is silent, it is difficult to assess whether a silent listener is actually hearing, feeling, understanding or experiencing what narrators are saying. Unfortunately, I do not have videotape data to confirm this.

Excerpt A2-6 below shows a context in which *gee* is used to convey the listener's reaction to the story.

```
A2-6
1        Stephen        some disgruntled (0.7) cli:ent (0.4) had been (0.3) refused
                        entry.
2        Matthew        mm hm¿
3        Stephen        so their response was to come back later with a (0.6) molotov
                        cocktail an' throw that at (.) [through the front door.
4        Matthew                                       [mm.
5 →      Matthew        gee.
6                       (1.5)
7        Stephen        so::: (.) the fire was (.) put out.
```

In this portion of the story, Stephen describes the crisis (climax) of the narrative (lines 1, 3). By saying *gee*, Matthew evaluates Stephen's talk (line 5). *Gee* is an interjection used to express surprise or enthusiasm. The use of such an assessment may express some kind of emotional reaction to the story.

Excerpt A3-7 presents a case in which an assessment is used to support the narrator. In this sequence, Damien is wondering why the goldfish died so quickly.

```
A3-7
1        Damien         .hh (.) but (0.3) uh::m (1.4) °you know,° I JUST (.) always
                        wonder about fish from those markets HOW (.) stressed they
                        are.
2        Emma           m[m: w-
3        Damien           [an' also (.) you know, bringing them home in a plastic ba:g
                        for half an hour
4        Emma           u hu.
4a       Damien         >probably isn't very good for them.<
5        Emma           yeah::.
6        Damien         uh:m (.) but then (0.5) they've got (.) short memory: (0.7)
                        [°probably.°
7        Emma           [yeah:.
8 →      Emma           i don't imagine (.) fish get too stressed out.
9        Damien         yeah:.
10                      (0.4)
11       Damien         uhm (2.2) but (1.0) YEAH so they lasted about two weeks¿
                        an'::::: they were dead.
```

In lines 1 and 3, Damien shows pity for the goldfish from the markets. He adds that fish have short memory (line 6). After encouraging Damien to keep talking by uttering *mm: w-* (line 2) and *yeah* (lines 5, 7), Emma reinforces Damien's view that it

is really not too bad for the goldfish (line 8). Emma's utterance *i don't imagine fish get too stressed out* suggests that she is attending closely to Damien's story. The quiet voice (the transcript indicates this feature) in which Emma says it suggests that she is supporting Damien. Damien acknowledges Emma's comment (line 9) and moves on (line 11). It seems that Emma's supportive feedback is helping the story construction.

In A3-3, I demonstrated that *mm* closes off talk. In line 2, Emma of A3-7 produces *mm* plus an emerging utterance *w-* which gets cut off by Damien's utterance. There is evidence that Emma is attempting to take the chance to take the turn. However, because Damien continues with his talk (lines 3, 6), Emma produces laughter (line 4) and *yeah* (lines 5, 7) and lets Damien hold the floor.

Excerpt A6-8 is an example of Australian humour.

A6 - 8

1		Nicholas	uh:m (0.5) °every time you wanna try on if you're in a shop trying sweater:s (.) an' jumpers° (0.8) °put gla:sses (.) you're gonna take them o:::ff (.) put on the sweater (.) put on your gla:sses.°
2		Nicholas	every time i go to have my hair cut they say "oh how's that sir::".
3			(0.5)
4	→	Peter	[shithouse.
5		Nicholas	[an' i couldn't see a THING.
6		Peter	a ha ha ha ha.
7		Nicholas	you know that (0.3) flash the mirror behind your head an' you're supposed to look from one mirror into the other mirror.
8			(1.0)
9		Nicholas	it meant absolutely nothing to me.
10		Nicholas	i had no idea what was going on.

Here Nicholas illustrates actual instances in which he felt that having to wear glasses was inconvenient (lines 1, 2). After a 0.5-second silence (line 3), Peter comes in and utters *shithouse* (line 4). There are a few things going on here. Peter's utterance may be one of those comments that reinforces the view of the teller, "oh, you poor thing" or "what a nuisance". In this sense, the word *shithouse* seems to be doing some sort of empathic work. Also, it is funny that Nicholas' haircut might look bad but he

could not tell. Furthermore, it could be that Peter's comment is just Australian humour. Peter is making a joke, but there is also a hint of sarcasm because Nicholas does not seem to laugh with Peter. Instead, Nicholas continues to talk about the inconvenience associated with glasses in line 7.

The following two examples show that sarcasm seems to be one of the humour strategies that recipients can use to the narrator (cf. Hay, 2000, 2001). Sarcastic remarks also offer an alternative viewpoint to the other person. The following excerpt from A5-9 shows that the listener (Fiona) is inserting sarcastic comments, challenging the narrator (Karina) in some way.

A5-9

1	Karina	but .hh uh::m (0.6) she was hopping around in- in kim's backyar::d an' (0.5) an' having a nice ti:me.
2	Karina	a:nd uh:: .h but poor o- poor uncle ↑kim (0.3) decided (1.0) flopsy was ↑not gonna stay in the backyar:d (.) because she was having too much fun there an' that she needed to go on another holida:y to see (0.8) my mum an' ↑dad.
3	Karina	.hh so he bundled-
4 →	Fiona	°kim was too cowardly to tell you he hated the rabbit.°
5		(0.4)
6	Karina	yes.
7		(0.6)
8	Karina	.hh so he bundled my flopsy into the back of his ↑car, a:n' (0.5) took her on a nice little (1.3) <guided tour up to new↓castle.>
9 →	Fiona	°an' you didn't notice the smell because his car already smells like that.°
10	Karina	a ha ha ha ha ha ha .hhh.
11	Fiona	((coughs))
12	Karina	a:nd uhm (0.5) n- .hh though flopsy's cage i've been a little bit more rigorous in cleaning it a ha ha:n so (0.4) so it actually wasn't that smelly ha ha.
13	Karina	.hh funny: (.) it didn't smell at all actually ha ha.

Here Karina is providing a sequential list of events surrounding her pet rabbit (lines 1, 2, 3). Fiona's comment in line 4 is an assessment of Kim from the story. Karina comes in and confirms Fiona's comment by saying *yes* (line 6). Karina resumes her story (line 8) and Fiona inserts a comment again in line 9. Both of Fiona's comments (lines 4 and 9) seem to be sarcastic. It appears that there is slight awkwardness here. Karina says *yes* in line 6 after a 0.4-second silence (line 5). This 0.4-second silence in

line 5 is hearable as problematic in agreeing with Fiona's comment in line 4. Also, it may be that Karina did not completely appreciate Fiona's comment in line 9 because Karina does not completely confirm that comment but laughs about it (line 10).

Similarly, the following excerpt demonstrates the listener's participation in the story through sarcastic comments. By doing so, the listener (Philip) challenges the view of the narrator (Kurt).

```
A8-10
1       Kurt            .hhh he's like (.) "did anybody ever think to ask him why he
                        was two minutes la::te, you kno::w or why he's been having
                        trouble, is he ↑ho::mesick, is he missing is he broken up
                        with his girlfriend has anybody actually ever a::sked
                        anything?"
2       Kurt            .hh "i'll ask you now michael are there any you kno::w are
                        you-"
3                       (0.7)
4       Kurt            an' so apparently this is ↑it.
5       Kurt            the captain turns out to be really ni::ce and uhm: (1.1)
                        sticks [up for michael.
6 →     Philip                 [that is just like the love boat.
7       Kurt            wh- yeah s- HA HA HA HA .hhh exactly.
8       Kurt            perfect (0.3) the captain's a lovely dude.
9       Kurt            an' it's all these little underlings that are officious (.)
                        bastards that's right a ha just (.) like the love boat.
10 →    Philip          with their socks pulled up.
11      Kurt            exactly.
12      Kurt            but so at least the good thing no:w is that michae:::l (1.0)
                        apparently if he ever does wanna do this aga::in (0.6) the
                        key thing is no:w apparently:: tha:t (1.0) the big difference
                        was if this ba:nd manager had of got his way then michael
                        would have been sacked, which meant that he could never ever
                        work on p [an' o again which is no::w .hh not what's gonna
13      Philip                    [mm.
13a     Kurt            happen 'cause he's just sending his resignation letter and-
14      Philip          mm.
```

There is a bit of humour in this interaction. In lines 1, 2, 4 and 5, Kurt describes how the ship's captain stood up for Michael (Kurt's brother). Philip then inserts his own observation into the story (line 6). It is sarcastic in that Philip mocks the boat that Michael was on. Kurt comes in and confirms that by saying *yeah* (line 7) and laughs about it. Kurt then attributes evaluative remarks to the ship's captain (lines 8, 9). Philip inserts wry humour in line 10. Kurt confirms that comment (line 10) by saying *exactly* in line 11.

Assessments, of course, can be achieved in words or phrases that portray the listener's evaluation of the story. First, the listeners create a supportive atmosphere through personal comments on the story (A3-7). In these instances, the listeners reinforce the view of the narrators. Second, the listeners use humour (sarcastic comments) as in A6-8 and may even challenge the narrators' ways of thinking (A5-9, A8-10). In other words, the listeners may use humour in the form of sarcasm to show an assessment of the story. Clearly, the listeners' comments come from a different perspective. Therefore, there seem to be basically two kinds of assessments: those that reinforce the view of the teller (A3-7) and those that offer an alternative perspective to the teller (A5-9, A8-10).

I wish to suggest that through humour, the listener is able to articulate the absurdity of the narrator's (or a third person's) experiences. That is, the listener challenges habitual ways of thinking of the narrator and tricks him/her into gaining a new perspective or a novel frame of reference. The observation that the listener openly and freely expresses his/her viewpoint could be correlated with the Australian notion of egalitarianism (Thompson, 1994, 2001) which promotes acceptance of difference. Or it may be that the participants' sarcastic attitude runs deep in the Australian mentality, forming the basis of Australian humour, which is both cynical and satirical (Sharkey, 1988).

Regardless of the type of assessment, the listener makes it clear to the teller that he/she has taken in and understood the teller's message. Although minimal responses and some assessments (e.g. *wow*) can be treated together as monosyllabic/simple vocalisations, words such as *wow* and *gee* clearly belong to assessments in that they function as a marker of surprise (A1-5, A2-6).

4.6.4 Collaborative completions

Collaborative completions are cooperative interventions. In this portion of the narrative, the teller's talk is characterised by highly evaluative sentences by which he expresses his personal feelings.

```
A4-11
1        John          i lose patience with people sometimes now.
2        John          .hh uh:m: (1.0) when they look at .hh perhaps their material
                       wealth an' (0.7) all of the (0.5) things (.) which to me are
                       not critical.
3        Meredith      °yep.°=
4        John          =they're important, but they're not critical.
5        John          .hh an' sometimes in australia we find people have it so good
                       .hhh yet they still find time to whinge.
6  →     Meredith      °an' grizzle.°
7        John          an' grizzle.
8        John          an' i find that a bit hard to take.
9                      (0.2)
10       Meredith      °mm:::° (0.6) good for you.
```

In lines 1, 2, 4 and 5, John openly expresses his point of view. After John produces a statement referring to Australians (line 5), Meredith supplies a paraphrase of the word *whinge* (line 6). In other words, John's talk is complete, and Meredith gives an alternative. Meredith does not add much to the previous turn because *whinge* (associated with British) and *grizzle* (associated with kids) are similar in English language.

As can be seen by excerpt A4-11, collaborative completions seem to provide resources for the listener to align herself with respect to a possible completion element. With the connector *and*, Meredith completes the final component of John's utterance, verbally acknowledging that Meredith understands what is being said. This is confirmed by John's repeat of the increment (line 7), i.e. Meredith got it right in her alignment.

4.6.5 Repetitions

Excerpt A4-12 is another example of lexical repetition.

```
A4-12
1        Meredith        >what time is it by now.<
2                        (0.8)
3        Meredith        you left at three o'clock in the morning [it's now-
4        John                                                      [oh yeah::: (0.4) it
                         would have been (1.5) ten o'clock in the mor↑ning.
5        Meredith        [°okay.°
6        John            [oh no it would have been later than that, >probably< (0.3)
                         getting towards lunch time [by the time we were in the kooah.
7  →     Meredith                                   [°lunch time.°
8        Meredith        °okay.°
```

Prior to this segment, John has been reconstructing a scene in which he and his friend were heading off up the glacier on Mount Cook. In line 1, Meredith comes in and asks a question and requests more information. John provides the information asked for (lines 4, 6). Meredith then repeats the words spoken by John (line 7), possibly due to the confusion over the times.

Through repetition, listeners can acknowledge the teller's point of view, although something else seems to be happening here. A7-13 is an example in the Australian data of a lexical repetition.

```
A7-13
1        Penelope        .hh [an'-
2        Zebulon              [how old were you?
3                        (1.8)
4        Penelope        twenty.
5  →     Zebulon         °about twenty.°=
6        Penelope        =twenty-one.
7        Zebulon         okay, [it's not that long ago.
8        Penelope               [yeah, yeah that's right.
```

Zebulon qualifies Penelope's utterance with *about* (line 5). This sort of repetition is relatively common in relaxed conversation between friends (Coates, 1996: 211). In this excerpt, repetition may be working as a repair because Penelope changes from *twenty* to *twenty-one* and then in line 7, there is agreement that the actual age does not matter because both parties agree that it was not long ago.

The discussion above illustrates how the listeners provide a repeat of the prior turn. Repetition is one of the ways of acknowledging the participants' point of view because the interlocutors explicitly say the same thing in one form or another (A4-12, A7-13). Repetition is doing confirming work.

4.6.6 Questions

Listeners may ask questions to seek information or to clarify the teller's point. Excerpt A6-14 demonstrates that questions are useful in seeking information from the teller.

A6-14

1	Nicholas	°they said it was a lot cheaper ((croaks)).°
2	Nicholas	°an' all the surgeons were trained (.) in the states.°
3		(0.3)
4 →	Peter	so how much did it cost (0.5) pe:so:s.
5	Nicholas	mm::::::: twenty (1.2) <five (0.4) thousand.>
6	Nicholas	no:.
7	Nicholas	thirty-eight thousand per eye¿
8	Peter	mm::::::.

Nicholas is telling Peter about his eye surgery experience in the Philippines. In line 1, Nicholas starts to mention the cost of the surgery. Shortly after Nicholas brings up the topic, Peter formulates an information-seeking question (line 4). The purpose of this question is to gain extra information from Nicholas, information which is not essential to understand the story yet increases the knowledge of the recipient. Nicholas responds to Peter's question (lines 5, 6, 7), and Peter acknowledges Nicholas' answer (line 8).

During storytelling the listener may probe with a question to get additional information.

A2-15

1		Stephen	when i lived in sydney, i would go to the saunas occasionally.
2			(1.5)
3		Stephen	[a::n'-
4	→	Matthew	[occasionally?
5	→	Matthew	how- how often is occasionally.
6		Stephen	maybe (.) once a week¿
7			(0.4)
8		Matthew	mm hm.
9		Stephen	a:[:nd uh-
10		Matthew	[>fairly frequently shall i say.<

Here Stephen is describing the background for his story, saying that he would go to the saunas occasionally when he lived in Sydney (line 1). Matthew repeats the word *occasionally* with rising intonation (note the question mark in the transcript) and then formulates an open question (line 5). Following Stephen's response (line 6) to the question, Matthew acknowledges receipt of information by saying *mm hm* (line 8) and adds an assessment of Stephen's reply (line 10). The question in line 5 was not designed to be a correction. Matthew does not indicate straight away that he disagrees, only after accepting the information (line 8) does he then say that he thinks it is frequent (line 10).

Clarification questions are the questions listeners ask to make sure they understand the teller's message.

A3-16			
1		Damien	so (0.6) yeah so: you kno:w, an' we were never (.) i guess because (1.2) because of that (.) >i was never bought up< (.) >we never were really kids< that wanted to say-
2		Damien	[na.
3	→	Emma	[all right, so, you (.) you: an' (0.7) kim an' andrew never (.) sort of (0.4) asked for a (0.4) pet or anything?
4		Damien	no (0.3) we di[dn't (.) really care.
5		Emma	[↑mm:::::.
6			(1.2)
7		Damien	a[:n'-
8		Emma	['cause i always wanted to have (1.1) yeah a cat (.) when [i was young.
9		Damien	[yeah.
10		Emma	[like (.) i used to go on an' on about it all the ti:me,
11		Damien	[yeah.
11a		Emma	before we: got (.) ben.
12		Damien	well i think i got (0.3) you know, i didn't like cats 'cause dad (.) °would° go on about how much he hated cats an' .hh mm:: (.) an' so (.) you know, >i an' mum would sort of talk about dogs< an' we'd visit (.) >my grandparents an' they'd have< (.) you know, the dog (1.0) snoopy.

Here Damien is ruminating over his childhood in relation to pets. In line 1, Damien illustrates his family's dislike of animals. Damien and his siblings were never surrounded by animals. Emma then asks a clarification question (line 3). By doing so, she is summarising Damien's contributions. That is, Emma's question is a kind of summary confirmation question which is designed to clarify her understanding of Damien's story. Damien provides an acknowledgment token *no* plus additional information (line 4).

There are cases when the listener appears to be asking questions to encourage the teller to move forward. In excerpt A4-17, for example, Meredith seeks more background information.

A4-17

1	John	an' the year that clive an' i climbed it, the weather was actually quite (.) dodgy.
2		(0.5)
3	Meredith	y[ep.
4	John	[and uhm .hhh we just picked a window (0.5) which (.) basically made it a winter ascent of mount cook (0.7) which meant that it was (.) [we were scaling up.
5 →	Meredith	[which made it a what?
6	John	a winter a↑scent.
7	Meredith	all right.
8	John	.h which made it was a reasonably <hard slog.>
9	John	there was a lot of snow around the place an' that was quite hard work.
10	Meredith	°yep.°
11		(0.7)
12 →	Meredith	.h so how much planning did you have (.) like (.) looking at weather forecast (.) just before you (0.3) just before you made your climb.
13 →	Meredith	>'cause you would have had to book airfares an' all that stuff.<
14	John	well, no, we- we- we were in mount cook an' we (0.3) we (0.8) flew into plateau hut, >which is at about< eight thousand feet.
15	John	an' this is on what they call a- .hh uh:: (.) plateau.

In lines 1 and 4, John provides background information to the story. Meredith asks a question in line 5. This question suggests that Meredith could not catch John's words. It appears that Meredith does not understand the term "winter ascent". Johns responds to Meredith (line 6) and keeps talking (lines 8, 9). Meredith then requests

more background information (line 12). Meredith not only asks the question but also provides a possible reason for interest (line 13).

It is interesting to have a look at clarification questions with respect to the narrator's talk. Excerpt A4-18 illustrates how the listener asks a question to gain clarity on what the teller is talking about.

```
A4-18
1        John          you appreciate something more if you have to work for it.
2        Meredith      yeah:.=
3        John          =it's my personal philosophy.
4        Meredith      °yeah, that's true.°
5                      (0.3)
6        John          so uhm (1.0) an' it was (.) just (.) glorious position.
7  →     Meredith      so you're now halfway up?
8        John          .hh so we'd be over halfway (0.3) [by the time we threw the
9        Meredith                                         [okay.
9a       John          rock band an' up on the (0.3) the summit ridge.
10       Meredith      yep.
```

In lines 1 and 3, John discloses his perspective in relation to the hard work associated with mountain climbing. In line 4, Meredith agrees with John's comments. In describing a view from the mountain, John is expressing his personal reaction to the situation. Meredith then produces a clarification question (line 7). It may be that she wants to know how high up they were for the "view". John moves forward (line 8), meeting the expectations set out by Meredith.

I have given examples of various types of questions in narration. Most generally, the listener gives verbal evidence to the teller that he/she is listening attentively through question asking. That is, listeners can ask questions to understand what is being said or to get more information. What is noteworthy about the Australian data is that listeners ask questions that may increase their own understanding (A6-14, A2-15, A4-17, A4-18). That is, by asking questions, the listener extracts additional information that would otherwise have been unstated. Sometimes, though, the listener may scrutinise the message presented by the teller,

leaving no room for ambiguity or vagueness, which is a kind of repair mechanism by which the listener corrects the teller's seemingly insufficient statement.

The listener (A3-16) may also ask a summary confirmation question before the teller moves on to the next matter. In other words, the listener is clarifying her understanding of the teller's story.

4.6.7 Laughter

Laughter tends to be placed at certain points in narration. Firstly, it can be used to display one's understanding, as in excerpt A3-19.

```
A3-19
1       Damien          .hh an' we were just trying to figure out what to na:me them
                        because they were a couple (0.7) you know bought at the same
                        time they had to be you know, a couple (0.5) name¿
2       Damien          tsk .h so they ended up being bert an' ernie.
3  →    Emma            a [ha.
4  →    Damien            [°a ha ha.°
5       Damien          .hh uhm (.) bert be:ing the black googily-eyed one (.) °ernie
                        being (1.5) the goldfish.°
```

In lines 1 and 2, Damien explains that he and his siblings named the two fish Bert and Ernie, taken from the popular children's program *Sesame Street*. Emma's laughter in line 3 demonstrates that she understands what Damien is saying. She also evaluates it as humorous. Damien laughs with Emma at line 4. Damien then progresses by picking up on where he left off (line 5).

In A1-20 and A6-21, the narrators initiate the laughter. The narrators more or less invite the audience to laugh by laughing after an utterance (Jefferson, 1984a). Laughter signals that the topic should be treated as humorous. In short, laughter is an affiliation device.

A1-20

1		Jo	an' (.) an' they ended up going to COURT, because they hadn't (.) come off the road enough,
2		Deborah	no.
2a		Jo	to pick me up.
3		Deborah	yeah.
4		Jo	an' so i felt (.) pretty bad about that.
5			(1.0)
6	→	Jo	a [ha.
7	→	Deborah	[a ha ha ha ha ha.
8		Jo	[.hh so- (.) i don't think i've hitchhiked since.
9		Deborah	[but-
10		Jo	a ha.

Jo provides an evaluation in line 4. This utterance is not responded to (line 5), which can be interactionally problematic in light of preference for preference for contiguity. It looks as if Jo is laughing (line 6) to fill that silence. Jo is also inviting Deborah to laugh. Deborah accepts the invitation and the two participants produce shared laughter (line 7). This example demonstrates that laughter initiated by the teller can offer an invitation to growing intimacy to which responsive laughter from the listener implies willingness to affiliate.

Laughter may also be used to mask one's private feelings, as in excerpt A6-21. In other words, the narrator is resisting the painful memory of his eye surgery.

A6-21

1		Nicholas	tsk no more glasses.
2			(1.5)
3		Peter	[°mm.°
4	→	Nicholas	[i recommend that (0.8) °personally a ha ha.°
5	→	Peter	ha ha.
6		Nicholas	the thing (.) can't correct is for:: if you need glasses for reading °which most people do as they get older.°
7		Peter	°mm.°

Nicholas, the narrator, laughs after saying that he personally recommends eye surgery (line 4). Peter, the listener, laughs in line 5. Laughter on the side of recipients is a possible response to the narrator's initial laughter (Jefferson, 1979). It may also be a preferred response. By laughing both parties indicate that they take the topic lightly, i.e. a shared understanding. This laughter occurs in the closing phase of the story,

which suggests that Nicholas is taking his eye surgery experience with a light heart. Peter shares this attitude by reciprocating laughter.

Excerpt A9-22 is taken from a story in which the teller describes her uncle's experience in Italy. This part of the story consists of complications involving a turning point.

```
A9-22
1        Rhani          an' what ended up happening was that uh:m: (1.2) the bill
                        came¿
2        Rhani          a:::n' it was i- some extortionate amount (.) for (.) a
                        couple of (.) glasses of champagne an' two beers or
                        whatever¿
3 →      Michaela       °ha ha.°
4        Rhani          an' my cousin's just saying "no: i'm not paying for this" an'
                        chucked this big scene.
5                       (0.3)
6 →      Michaela       °ha [ha ha.°
7        Rhani              [a::n' (0.6) basically it was all set up¿
```

In lines 1, 2 and 4, Rhani describes what happened to her uncle in a bar in Italy. Michaela's laughter occurs (lines 3, 6) among Rhani's utterances. It seems that laughter is being produced by funny situations being described by Rhani.

This subsection has presented excerpts of laughter. Although humour is a very individual thing, laughter in general can be linked to funny moments of the story (A3-19, A1-20). In these instances, the participants treat the events as humorous. Laughter, however, can also be a way to diffuse a painful memory or momentary embarrassment (A6-21). That is, the narrator laughs at his own remark, possibly to treat his experience in a light mood. Generally, when one person laughs, the other person also laughs, signalling that a laughter response is preferred (A3-19, A1-20, A6-21).

4.6.8 Concluding remarks

The previous subsections have characterised a number of listener behaviours in the corpus. Essentially, minimal responses in the corpus have been shown to pass up an opportunity to produce a full turn (Schegloff, 1982). However, an analysis of listener behaviour during storytelling — which usually requires a suspension of the turntaking — illustrates how the recipients show listenership through not only minimal responses (A5-1, A2-2) but also verbal signals such as silence (A5-1, A9-4, A1-5). Data analysis of minimal responses and assessments indicates that silence upholds conversational expectations with respect to the effect of audience participation in storytelling (A5-1, A1-5). However, when relying on audiotaped data, non-verbal responses such as nodding, eye contact or encouraging gestures cannot be recorded. For example, attentive eye gaze indicates that the listener is listening, which is not necessarily less attentive than verbal responses such as *mm hm*. The perception of silence may depend on a combination of head nods and eye gaze orientation, all of which indicate that the person is paying attention, depending on the direction of eye gaze. Rather than providing some sort of verbal feedback at each transition relevance place, the listener tends to demonstrate his/her orientation to the storyteller's extended talk through silence. Silence is specifically interpretable as declining the opportunity to take a turn at talk so that the narrator can continue with the extended discourse. Therefore, co-construction of stories can take place with the collaboration of the listener who is focused on the story through verbal signals.

The data analysis of assessments shows what happens when the recipients insert their comments into the ongoing narration. There are supportive comments (A3-7) as well as expressions full of humour (A6-8, A5-9, A8-10). Through questions, the listener may seek more information (A4-17) or clarification (A4-18). Although the types of assessments or questions may largely depend on the story

content or the relationship of the participants, a picture that emerges from the data is that, while Australian listeners may display attentiveness to narration through various means including silence, the co-construction of the story appears to involve subjective critical listening strategies realised by humorous/sarcastic comments or pointed/searching questions. Renwick (1980, 1991) makes a similar point in saying that Australians temper their humour with a certain amount of cynicism.

Whether or not the above observation about the Australian listener behaviour during storytelling can be linked to their cultural association with egalitarianism (Thompson, 1994, 2001) is questionable, but what kind of listening style is appropriate certainly seems to be marked by two prominent features. Firstly, Australians may display attentiveness through silence. Secondly, being honest and expressing what they think seems to be more desirable and even sincere, rather than constantly trying to preserve affinity with the storyteller by means of comments that may help bring about a harmonious connection to the other person.

4.7 Comparison of Japanese and Australian listener responses

In all cultures, social values and assumptions about language use create a wide spectrum of culture-specific listening styles. In some instances these styles are relatively compatible while in other cases they differ and conflict across cultures. Steady listener feedback (called *aizuchi*) seems to be a crucial function of Japanese discourse. The Australian participants also use minimal responses to maintain the smooth flow in a narrative. The question that now arises is: are the functions and types of minimal responses same in the two languages?

The analysis of listening behaviour has revealed differences between Japanese and Australian audiences. The Japanese data (J6-1, J3-2, J9-3) show that the focus is

on the teller over the message, and constant minimal responses imply "I am attending to you". Indeed, minimal responses seem to be the dominant characteristic of Japanese participants. Table 17 showed that Japanese listeners greatly favour minimal responses over other listener response types. Listeners tend to utter a minimal response token such as *un* at phrasal boundaries (J9-3) to encourage the teller to keep talking. As discussed in subsection 4.3.2, a lack of minimal responses would break off an ongoing talk (Horiguchi, 1988, 1997; Maynard, 1997; Mizutani, 1988; Ward and Tsukahara, 2000). In this light, one could argue that storytelling would not work without a certain amount of minimal responses from the recipient.

The Australian data suggest that minimal responses occur much less frequently (subsection 4.4) compared to the Japanese data. Although the Australian participants do provide verbal feedback such as *mm hm* and *yeah* (A5-1, A2-2) to encourage the teller to keep talking, listeners may also demonstrate that they are listening through silence (A5-1, A9-4, A1-5).

Indeed, it seems more customary for Japanese narrators to pause at phrasal boundaries and continue talking after having heard the listener's response (J6-1, J9-3, J9-4, J9-5). In other words, Japanese participants seem to be accustomed to conversation with reasonably constant minimal responses. Australian conversational routines differ from this in that the listener indicates attention and interest in more subtle ways; the occasional verbal *mm hm* or *uh huh* seems enough to reassure that the listener is still following what narrators are saying (A5-1, A2-2).

Before discussing further the different aspects of listening behaviour, a discussion of social structure is necessary because it is a potentially important factor in accounting for the cultural differences. In short, it has been found that the Japanese listening style reflects reinforcement of a hierarchical (teller-listener) social structure

(Harré, 2001: 695; Mayes, 2003), "how do I show my interest?" or "how do I support the teller?". This is reflected in constant minimal responses in Japanese narratives (J6-1, J3-2, J9-3). One could argue that the Japanese participants work hard to show that they are interested in relationship content (Takada and Lampkin, 1996), that is, they project an attitude that they are genuinely interested in paying attention to the narrator.

For the Australian participants, attentiveness is displayed differently. The narrator's turn is not punctuated by regular minimal response tokens from the recipient. The narrator is thus able to produce several basic contributions within a span of a single turn as a result of the listener's use of silence (A5-1, A9-4, A1-5). During the other person's extended discourse such as storytelling, silent listening seems to be a positive phenomenon that is not simply the absence of something else (Tomalin and Stempleski, 1993: 117-119). Silence can be treated as a component which structures discourse in much the same way as speech does.

Through assessments, the Japanese participants show affiliation with others (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). The data (J7-8, J2-10, J3-9, J9-11) reveal that the Japanese participants put out genuine efforts at being receptive to other people's feelings. One could argue that a sense of consensus and agreement is far more important than the expression of individual ideas. As a result of these values, expressing individual opinions and giving a frank impression does not seem to be as important as considering what others may think or feel.

In contrast, Australians appear to be socialised to listen with a mind full of opinions (Renwick, 1980, 1991). That is, the data (A5-9, A8-10) have shown that Australian participants (listeners) insert their own personal comments/observations into the story, creating a sense of sincerity from an Australian perspective. This does

not mean that Australians do not provide supportive feedback, as can be seen in examples including A3-7 where listeners reinforce the view of the narrator. However, what is noteworthy is that sarcastic remarks can be used by some recipients as a kind of humour device (A6-8, A5-9, A8-10). This is not found in the Japanese data.

Finally, Japanese listeners (J7-21, J9-22, J8-23) have been shown to ask questions which display genuine interest in or understanding of the other person. That is, questions facilitate the narrator's talk. For example, listeners acknowledge the other person's experience (J7-21) or signal long attention spans (J8-23) through questions. By asking questions, listeners appear to go inside the story and put themselves in the narrator's position. This kind of listening behaviour provides further evidence that Japanese participants strive to meet the cultural expectation of understanding other people's ideas and feelings (Ishii and Bruneau, 1991).

With regard to question asking in stories, it seems that Australians ask more questions than the Japanese (Table 17). This is important because it might affect how a story is jointly co-constructed by Australian participants. Australians ask questions that increase their own understanding (A2-15, A6-14). One of the implications of this finding is that the Australian listeners appear to be concerned about the message being portrayed. This type of listening style suggests that listeners take an assertive role in narration, which is different from Japanese recipients who tend to ask questions that appear to display genuine understanding of the narrator as well as the story.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter examined diverse forms of listener behaviour in the corpus. Quantitative analysis shows that, although the general distributions of response tokens suggest that minimal responses are the most frequent type of listener response found

in both groups, Japanese have a much higher minimal response ratio than Australians. Clearly, the Australian participants favour assessments and questions to display interest in the story.

Qualitative analysis has also been informative about the nature of response tokens found in the two groups, although given the absence of other aspects of listeners' behaviour, such as gaze, head nodding or smiling, as stated at the outset of this chapter, it may be difficult to reach any substantial conclusions on differences in cross-cultural behaviour. The data analysis has shown that, most generally, minimal responses appear to be an essential component of the Japanese listening behaviour. This contrasts markedly with Australians who may show attention to the narrator by staying silent, along with some minimal responses. In Australia, it is perhaps considered appropriate to show attentiveness through the use of silence because learning to be a good listener may involve being silent. While the assessments produced by the Japanese participants are typically characterised by empathy or agreement with the narrator, the assessments from the Australian listeners reflect an open, direct and friendly approach to the storyteller, often accompanied by expressions of one's own personal comments/observations or even sarcastic remarks. Furthermore, Japanese listeners' questions seem to be aimed at displaying interest in or understanding of the narrator. Australian listeners, on the other hand, ask questions in order to check their own comprehension.

In the next chapter, I will provide a summary of the analyses presented so far (narrative structure, story initiation and listener responses).

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This chapter summarises the findings described in this thesis.

5.1 Introduction

This research is essentially an extended argument in favour of cultural variation in narration (Holmes, 1998) in terms of the narrative structure and how the listener responds to the narrative as shown in the data. Microanalysis elucidates features of Japanese and Australian ways of telling a story in a private environment with a view to discovering the cultural impact on storytelling. The data show that there are similarities as well as significant differences between Japanese and Australian stories. Evidence clearly demonstrates that interactional details (how a story is introduced, responded to, etc.) differ in many ways (Chapters 3 and 4) although basic structural properties have been shown to be similar (Chapter 2). Chapter 2 shows that although both Japanese and Australian stories basically conform to the structural framework outlined by Labov, the orientation and evaluation sections of stories differ markedly between the two languages. Chapter 3 illustrates how Japanese and Australian participants differ in their ways of entering into a story, both in recipient-initiated and speaker-initiated stories. Chapter 4 demonstrates that Japanese and Australian listeners co-construct a story with the narrator in culture-specific ways, especially with regard to minimal responses, assessments and questions. In the next section, I will summarise the findings.

5.2 Findings

5.2.1 Internal structure of the narrative

Chapter 2 examined the ways of narrating according to the structural components outlined by Labov (1972). Across the broad spectrum of individual differences, stories told by both Japanese and Australians are found to have substantial similarities with Labov's narrative structure theory. Looking at Japanese and Australian narratives, one can see that (i) the orientation, (ii) complicating actions, (iii) evaluation and (iv) resolution sections are all obligatory, although final evaluations are missing in some Japanese stories. From Labov's perspective, these four components are essential to the production of a well-formed narrative. In particular, the orientation occurs whenever something needs filling out in creating a whole picture of the place, the characters, the events or the meaning. The evaluation is spread in various ways throughout the whole narrative. In a number of narratives, each complicating action develops into a crisis that leads towards the story's climax and its final resolution. This does not imply that it is obligatory. The abstract and the coda, on the other hand, have been found to be optional in the corpus, in accordance with the Labovian framework.

Although the basic structural properties between the two languages appear to be similar, the analysis of the data revealed a number of interesting differences between Japanese and Australian stories in terms of the internal structural components. For one thing, many Japanese stories exhibit detailed descriptions of orientation. That is, background information recurs within narrative clauses throughout the text. For example, one narrator gives a full-length description of her motorcycle. This suggests that Japanese narrators provide extra specifications of contextual information when telling a story. Conversely, the length of orientations varies in Australian stories.

There are other ways in which Japanese and Australian stories differ. The importance of the evaluation is found to be greater in Australian stories than in Japanese stories. For example, the resolution in some Japanese stories may involve an explanation of actually occurring events, with less emphasis on evaluative commentary. However, the lack of final evaluation can be compensated for by detailed orientations which lead the recipient to construct evaluations unstated by the teller. Japanese storytelling can thus be characterised by "recipient prompted evaluations" where the listener interactively pursues evaluations with the narrator. This observation seems to coincide with Maynard's (1989: 121) study which suggests that the teller's evaluation in conversational Japanese stories may be provided by the listener.

The resolution in Australian stories represents a different picture in which the narrators explicitly express the evaluative aspects of their experiences. In fact, an Australian story is dense with evaluative comments. Taken together, this can be called "teller evaluation" in that Australian storytelling is marked by the narrator's explanation of the actions and events described in stories as the obligatory element in telling a story.

5.2.2 The organisation of story initiation

Chapter 3 analysed the ways in which the Japanese and Australians introduce a story into a conversation. First, with respect to recipient-initiated narratives, the Japanese participants, especially between those who are not close to each other, encourage people to tell stories through a series of questions. That is, the participants begin on the periphery of the topic before coming to the point. However, a swift entry into the narrative frame is achieved by the Australian participants. Straightforward

questioning from the audience to prompt the teller is seen as a floor-yielding signal, and this is not affected by the relative status of the participants.

As for speaker-initiated stories, no story prefaces like those described by Sacks (1974) were found in the Japanese corpus. Rather, Japanese tellers claim the floor by producing an abstract which gives the idea of the narrative by summarising its main point through the use of personal pronouns such as *watashi mo* (I also), or by providing an orientation to set the stage for an upcoming narrative. This shows that the optimal environment for achieving entry into a story is one in which prospective tellers begin a story in subtle ways. Australians, on the other hand, typically take up an offer to tell a narrative, or request a chance to tell one. A proposal is constructed to achieve entry to a narrative and to get other participants to be an audience, or narrative recipients (Jefferson, 1978: 245). The proposal (e.g. story preface) establishes the newsworthiness or interest of the narrative. Thus, the findings from the Australian data confirm previous research (Goodwin, 1996; Jefferson, 1978; Sacks, 1974) on narratives in conversational sequences in English.

While recipient-initiated and speaker-initiated stories have been shown to differ noticeably across the two cultures, rounds of stories, i.e. second stories, demonstrate basically similar properties. Both Japanese and Australian participants, in their interactions characterised by a series of stories, pick out certain features from previous stories and work them into a second story using an abstract. Second stories usually show marked parallels of topic, theme, and character of events with preceding narratives. Thus, a series of stories are regarded as an ongoing mutual narration between participants with alternating teller-listener roles.

5.2.3 The construction of listening

Finally, Chapter 4 analysed the recipient's behaviour in storytelling. The quantitative analysis showed that Japanese provide a larger number of response tokens than Australians. In both languages, minimal responses and assessments are the most frequent response token types. However, in Japanese narration, minimal responses have a considerable lead over other response token types. Assessments and questions are a distant second and third of all response tokens. This is not the case for Australians who have a much lower percentage of minimal responses in overall response tokens. Assessments and questions are fewer in number, but occur more frequently than in Japanese.

On the basis of the findings of the quantitative analysis, the qualitative analysis captured distinguishing features of Japanese and Australian listening behaviour. I shall first consider the case of minimal responses. With the Japanese approach to communication, a listener must be active rather than passive (Horiguchi, 1988, 1997; Maynard, 1997; Mizutani, 1988; Ward and Tsukahara, 2000). There is clear evidence in the Japanese data that minimal responses are essential for the co-construction of a narrative. The importance of minimal responses seems to be built upon the reinforcement of social structure; it seems that Japanese project an interest in relationship content, that is, they strive to support this hierarchical structure. In Australian culture, active listening is achieved differently. To encourage a person to continue talking, and to show his/her attention, the listener occasionally (at natural breaks) inserts minimal responses within the teller's talk, although silence also seems to play an important role in sustaining a narrative.

A second distinction concerns the type of assessments used by the recipients. The Japanese listeners are found to be sensitive to their conversational partners' experiences. The listeners do this by identifying with the teller's feelings or by

expressing agreement with what the teller is saying. One could argue that Japanese are accustomed to a conversation where showing empathy towards others is highly valued. In contrast, Australians appear to be driven by values of self-expression; they insert their own comments freely into the teller's story.

The data also suggested that Japanese and Australians differ in the kinds of questions recipients ask during narration. The Japanese participants have been found to use questions as a platform from which to display interest/understanding and focus on the teller. Questions provide recipients in narrative discourse with a resource for demonstrating genuine interest in the talk, and so putting themselves in the teller's position. On the other hand, the types of questions identified in the Australian data represent a resource for recipients to ensure a better understanding of what is being said. Facts seem to be regarded as important, and the ability to speak honestly and openly by actively seeking or clarifying information seems acceptable.

5.3 Conclusion

This thesis is essentially an extended argument in favour of the cultural variation in narration. It analysed the ways in which the Japanese and Australian subjects carried out the task of telling stories. This study contributes to theories of CA in the sense that various narrative strategies in Japanese and Australian English have been identified.

CA is concerned with the structure of conversation without ascribing psychological states to the participants. This thesis has its inspiration in Moerman's (1977, 1988, 1996) work whose primary purpose is to study language in its cultural and social contexts. It is an attempt to focus on a particular organisational unit in narrative production in light of a growing body of research on conversational styles.

The notably characteristic features demonstrated by Japanese and Australian participants in this study provide evidence that language makes an integral part of communication and cannot be rightly described and understood out of cultural and social contexts.

Furthermore, paralleling this work is that of a number studies (Cook, 1990; Fujii, 1991; R. Hayashi, 1996; M. Hayashi and Mori, 1998; M. Hayashi et al., 2002; Kitagawa, 1980; Maynard, 1998; Ono and Yoshida, 1996; Tanaka, 1999; Watanabe, 1990, 1993; Yamada, 1992) which brought discourse analysis to the goal of refining and filling in details in an understanding of Japanese ways of interaction. Generally, discourse analysts interested in Japanese speech strategies tended to account for variation through traditional explanatory variables such as gender and seniority (e.g. R. Hayashi, 1996: 180-181, Watanabe, 1990: 105), in addition to oft-discussed cultural values and characteristics like *omoiyari* — thinking from another person's perspective (White, 1989: 67), *amae* — dependence (Doi, 1981) and *wa* — harmony (Lebra and Lebra, 1986) among others.

This research has focused its attention on the cultural styles of narration and departed from the role played by gender or seniority, seeing storytelling as cultural realisations of social order (Harré, 2001: 695). This study has revealed important differences between Japanese and Australians in their ways of telling narratives. I consider a particular interaction in a private conversation a microcosm of the difficulties between people, cultures, and even nations. This case study therefore contributes not only to theories of CA but also makes a contribution to further investigation of cross-cultural issues, in an attempt to understand the effect of culture on language.

Appendix 1

Explanatory note for collecting data

Japanese

"anata ga jissaini keekenshita ka, aruiwa dareka kara kiita omoshiroi dekigoto o, ikutsuka omoidashitekudasai. sono hanashi o suuhun de shitekudasai. sono hanashi o motoni, kaiwa o tsuzuketekudasai. taikendan o hanasu no wa ohutari no uchi no dochira demo kamaimasen. soredewa, kaiwa o tsuzuketekudasai".

English

"I want you to recall a few interesting or funny things that might have happened to you or that you have heard about that you could tell someone in a few minutes. Keeping them in mind, please continue talking and one of you could perhaps tell the other one of these happenings. It doesn't matter who. Please just keep talking as you were".

Appendix 2

Transcription conventions — compiled from Atkinson and Heritage (1984), Jefferson (1984a) and Sacks et al. (1974).

.	a stopping fall in tone, not necessarily the end of a sentence
,	continuing intonation, not necessarily between clauses of sentences
?	rising inflection, not necessarily a question
¿	rising inflection weaker than that indicated by a question mark
-	cut-off
=	connecting talk
> <	talk is faster than surrounding talk
< >	talk is slower than surrounding talk
° °	a passage of talk that is quieter than surrounding talk
SO	a passage of talk that is louder than surrounding talk
* *	creaky voice
↓↑	marked falling and rising shifts in pitch
::	an extension of a sound or syllable
( )	transcription doubt
(( ))	analyst's comments (representing non-verbal actions by participants)
(1.0)	timed intervals
(.)	a short untimed pause
hh	audible aspirations
.hh	audible inhalations
so	emphasis
[ ]	overlapping utterances or actions
→	a marker to indicate something of importance

Appendix 3

A list of all the story titles and brief plot descriptions

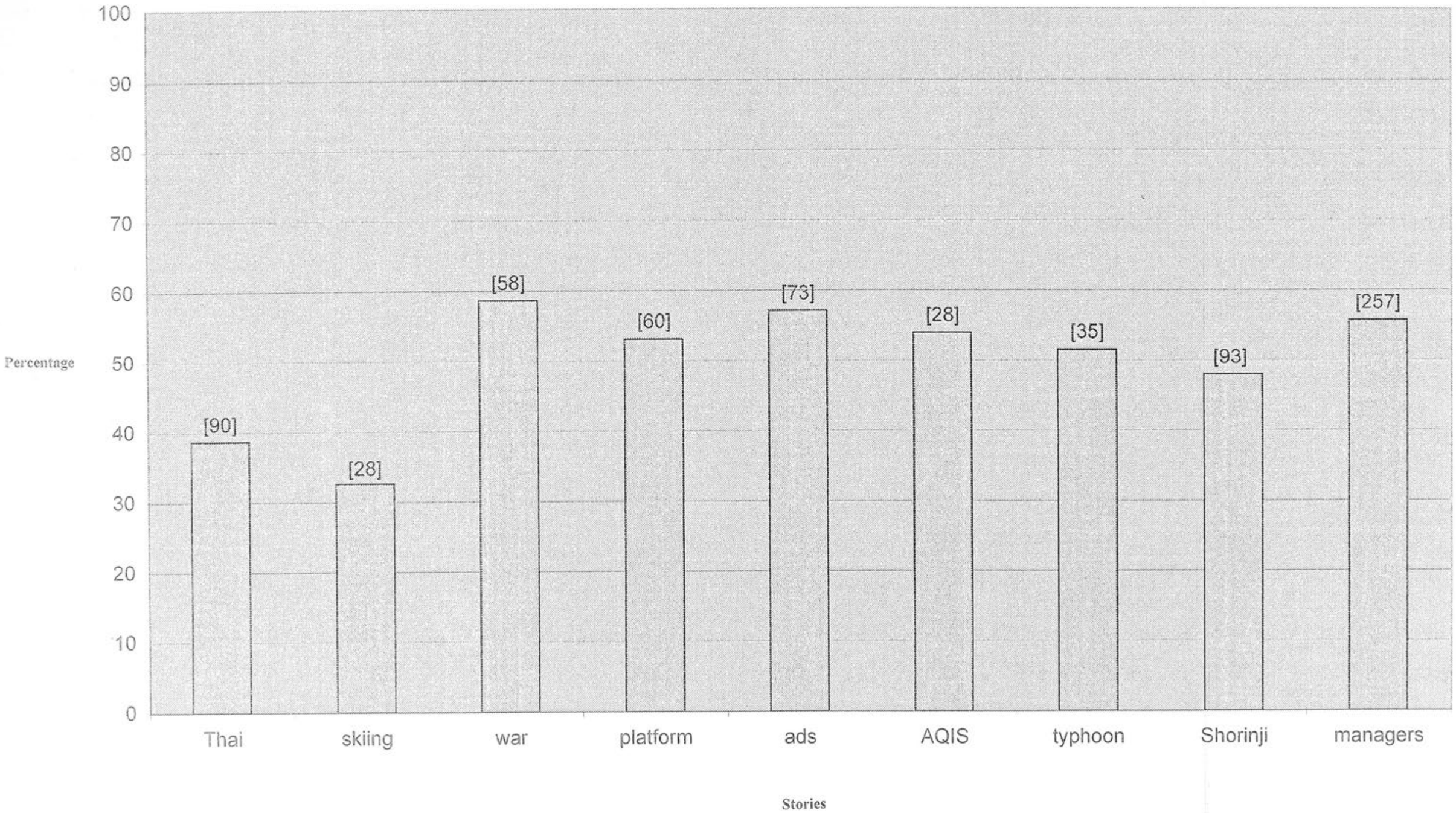
Japanese stories

No.	Title	Plot
J1	Thai tour guide	Teruyo visits Phuket and meets up with the tour guide she met on her first trip to Phuket. After a few incidents, she manages to return to the hotel on a motorcycle.
J2	skiing	Kazuyuki goes skiing for the first time in Echigoyuzawa and gets lost on the slope but eventually finds his way to the inn.
J3	India-Pakistan war	Yoko attempts to visit her friend in Afghanistan, but the imminent war between India and Pakistan forces her to abandon her plan.
J4	platform	Masae's left foot gets caught in the gap between the train and the platform of Keio Line in Tokyo. The nearby passengers help her out. Masae's boyfriend is not amused.
J5	personal ads	Hiroki places a personal ad in a magazine with a view to making female friends. He meets an exceptionally beautiful girl and becomes withdrawn in front of her.
J6	AQIS	Akiko receives a package from her family in Japan. Leaves wrapping sweet jellied azuki-bean paste have been confiscated by quarantine officers.
J7	typhoon	A typhoon strikes Miki and her friends in Okinawa and messes up their plan.
J8	Shorinji-kempo	There is a promotion test for Shorinji-kempo at the main temple in Kagawa. Junko fails the written component of the test and feels embarrassed.
J9	managers	Mami's track team managers in high school behave badly during training camps.

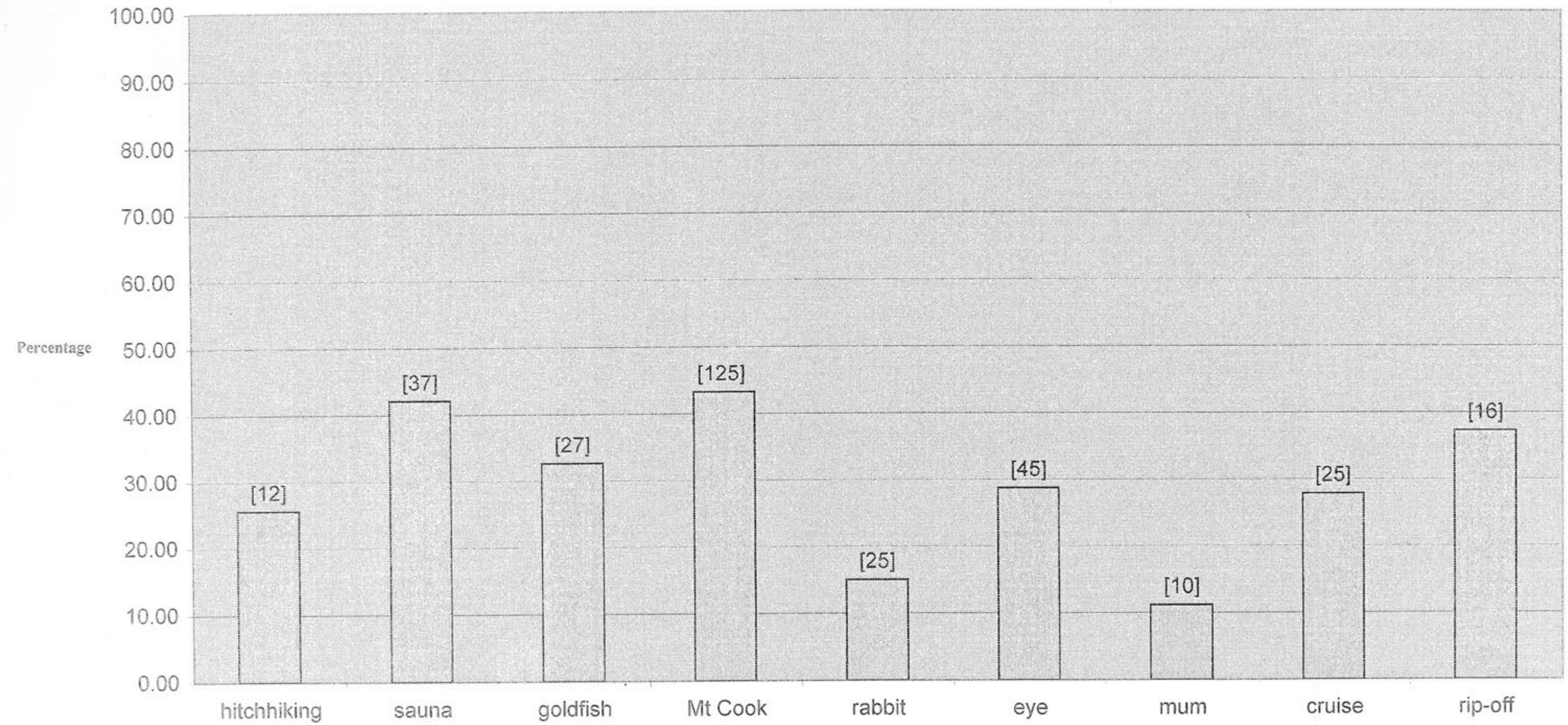
Australian stories

No.	Title	Plot
A1	hitchhiking	Jo tries to hitchhike while training for skiing in Colorado and gets involved in trouble.
A2	sauna	When Stephen is in a sauna in Sydney, the lights go off all of a sudden. A disgruntled client has thrown a Molotov cocktail at the front door.
A3	goldfish	Damien and his siblings go to the Croydon market and buy two fish. The fish die after two weeks.
A4	Mount Cook	John and Clive climb Mount Cook. Mountain weather is unpredictable but the view from the summit is brilliant.
A5	rabbit	Karina's pet rabbit has an infection in her eye and gets a broken leg.
A6	eye surgery	Nicholas has an eye surgery done while he is in Manila. With a month later check-up it becomes clear that one of Nicholas' eyes is not fully corrected.
A7	mum	Penelope goes to a dress-up party and feels stoned after eating a chocolate hash cake. Penelope's mother does not want to come out, so Penelope drives home drunk.
A8	cruise ship	Kurt's younger brother Michael goes on a cruise ship and keeps getting in trouble. Michael has run-ins with the band manager. The ship's captain sticks up for Michael.
A9	rip-off	Rhani's uncle receives an extortionate amount for a couple of glasses of champagne and beer in Italy but manages to wriggle his way out of the set-up.

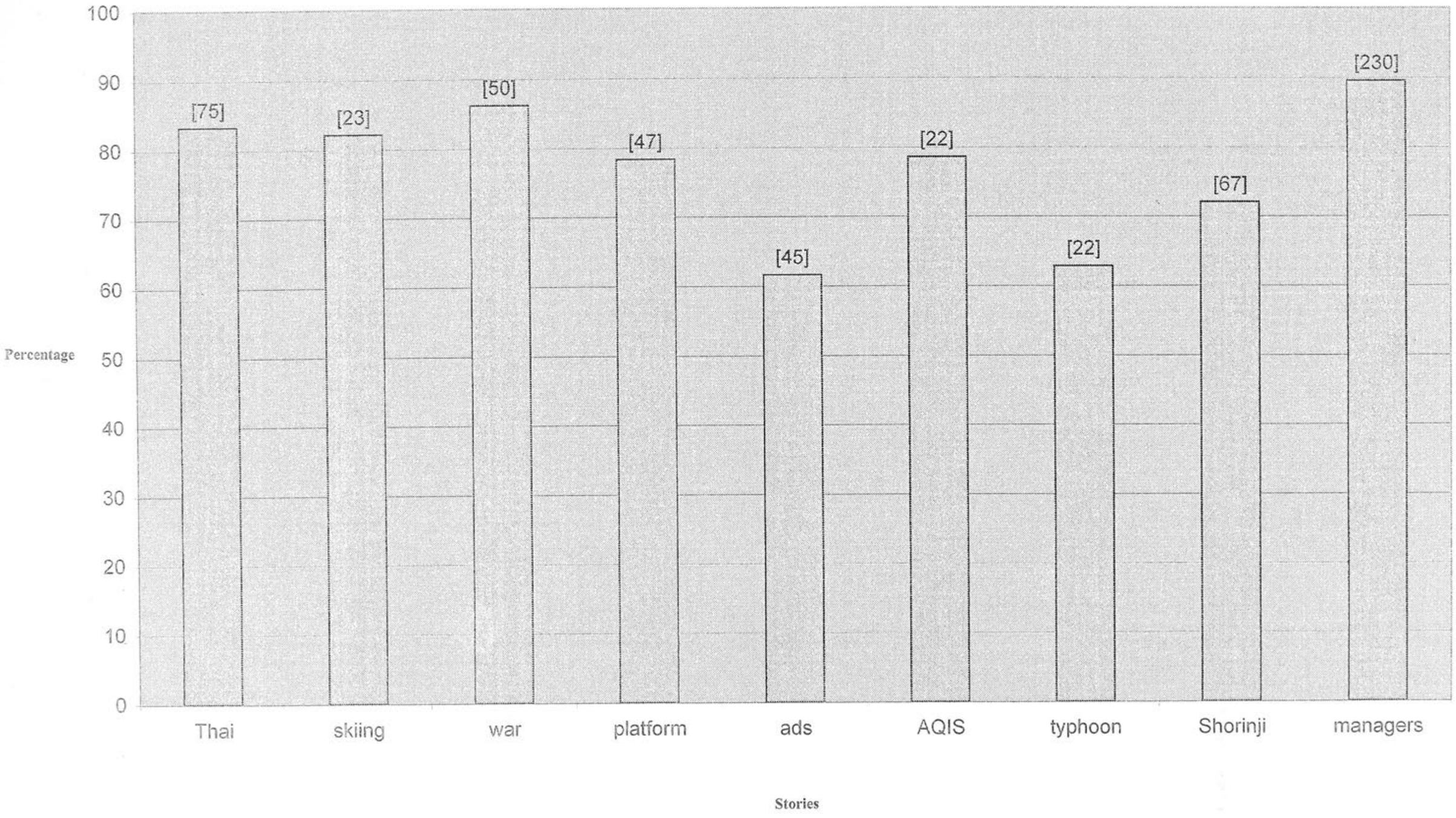
Appendix 4 – Figure 1 – Frequency of response tokens
Japanese [x: raw number of response tokens] Mean: 49.85% of all TCUs



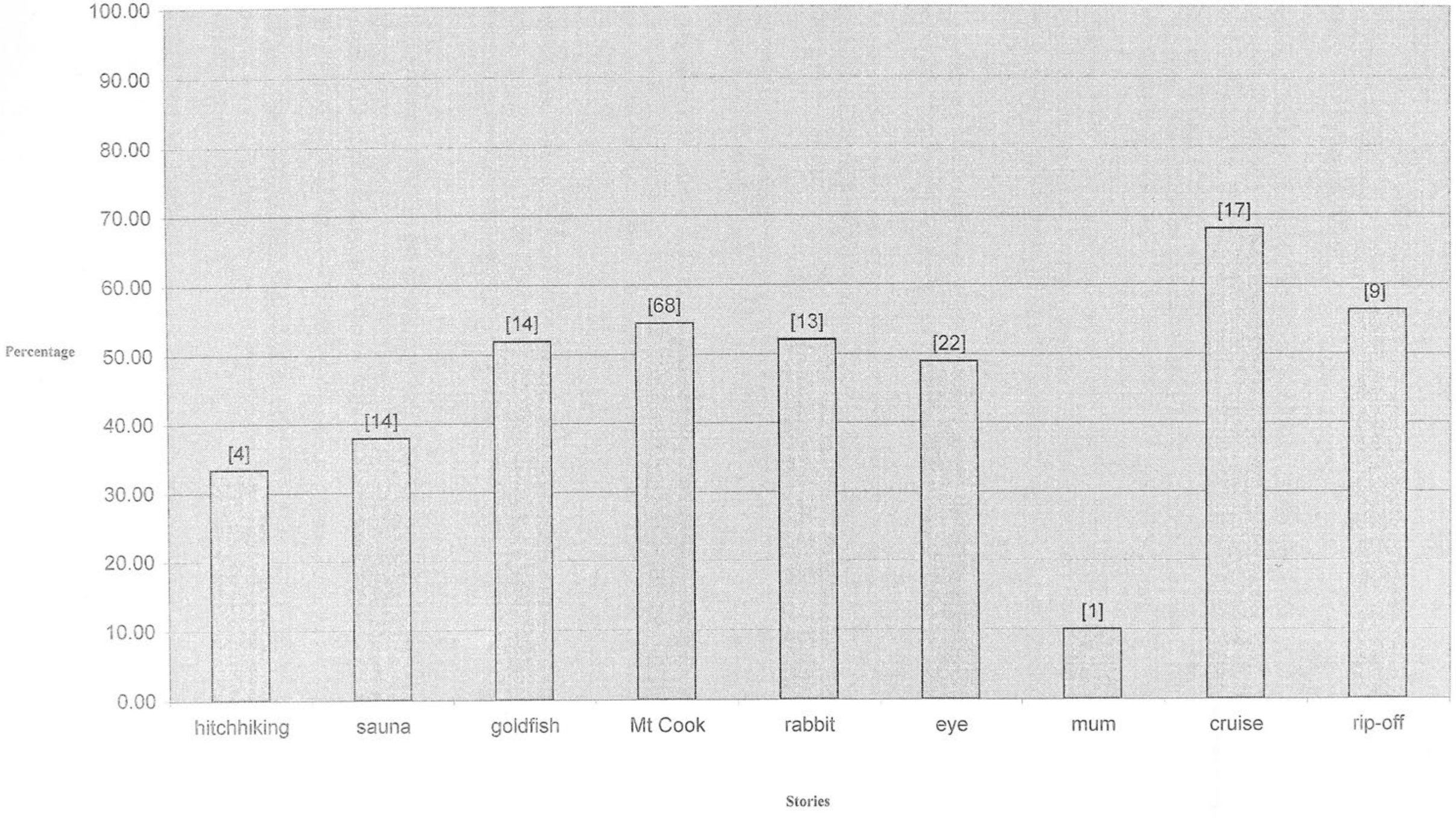
Appendix 4 – Figure 2 – Frequency of response tokens
English [x: raw number of response tokens] Mean: 29.17% of all TCUs



Appendix 4 – Figure 3 – Frequency of response tokens that are minimal responses
Japanese [x: raw number of minimal responses] Mean: 77.17%



Appendix 4 – Figure 4 – Frequency of response tokens that are minimal responses
English [x: raw number of minimal responses] Mean: 45.83%



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